

Level of Living, Social Participation, and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People

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PREFACE

This bulletin presents information concerning the ways of living of Ohio farm people. The information was obtained through personal interviews with farmers and their wives representing 299 families. Although the major results are based on a relatively small sample, statistical tests indicate that they apply within reasonable error limits to all farm families residing in Ohio.

Persons interested in more technical information concerning methodology and standardized scales for measuring levels of living and social participation are referred to a methodological supplement to this bulletin. This supplement has been issued as mimeographed bulletin No. 139 entitled "Methods of Measuring Level of Living, Social Participation, and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People" and can be obtained upon request.¹

The data for this report were collected by Howard R. Cottam, who interviewed the families during the winter of 1939-1940. The tabulations were made under the immediate supervision of Mr. Cottam with the help of Lois E. Meeker and workers furnished by the Student Aid Program of the National Youth Administration. The report was prepared under the coauthorship of A. R. Mangus and Mr. Cottam.

¹All data gathered as parts of the project on which this bulletin is based have been tabulated in detail. The detailed tables in typewritten form are on file in the Department of Rural Economics and Rural Sociology of The Ohio State University at Columbus. A more complete typewritten report of this research including case illustrations, further statistical analysis, and a statement of the theoretical frame of references is on file at the University of Wisconsin Library under the title "Level of Living, Social Participation, and Social Adjustment—A Study of the Standards of Living of 299 Ohio Farm Families," by Howard R. Cottam. (Ph. D. Dissertation, 1940).

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A. R. MANGUS AND HOWARD R. COTTAM

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of certain phases of the standards of living of Ohio farmers and their wives. Its central purpose is to describe the satisfactions and dissatisfactions expressed by farm people at different levels of living and at different intervals on a scale designed to measure the amount and quality of their participation in group activities. Another phase of this central purpose is to show the amount and kind of social participation engaged in by people at various levels of living. Secondary aims are to show how certain factors, such as age, occupation, type of family, and religious affiliations, are related to level of living, to social participation, and to social adjustment.

Among the specific questions answered by the study are the following: What do Ohio farm families possess in the way of resources for family living? How do farm families living in different parts of the State differ with respect to their possessions and their total levels of living? What proportions of families at different intervals on the scale of living possess telephones, radios, good houses, land, and other things which form the basis of modern farm life? Are farm persons in the good agricultural sections of the State more satisfied than those in the poor land areas? To what extent is a high level of family living an assurance of personal happiness and satisfaction for the individual? Are persons who participate much in social activities better adjusted and more satisfied with life than those who live more isolated lives?

Such questions as these are especially pertinent at this time. Social planning in agriculture, education, government, and other fields has become an accepted element of modern life. Every social plan developed and put into operation introduces a new factor into the integrated culture and is apt to have far-reaching effects on many phases of the mode of life. A program must be judged largely in the light of its effects upon the total culture and upon personality. Does it relieve the strains and disjunctions in the culture? Does it serve the deep and fundamental needs of personality and enable the person more adequately to achieve the basic human goals? These are questions which indicate basic criteria of human welfare. The present study should throw some light upon questions of this kind.

VIEWPOINT

Standards of living of farm people have been studied by a variety of approaches, the most common of which is the consumption habits or the expenditures of family income for various goods and services.² Cash income, cash expenditures, and goods produced on the farm and used in family living have been analyzed in great detail and with reasonable precision. Other studies have placed more emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth in the form of land,

²See Williams, Faith M., and Carle C. Zimmerman. *Studies of family living in the United States and other countries*. United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 223. December 1935.

farm equipment, insurance, savings accounts, or comfortable homes. A few additional projects have been concerned with the social status of the family, the family's place in the community, the educational achievement of family members, or participation of the family in social groups. Less common are studies which have given due attention to the satisfactions and social adjustment of farm people to their ways of living. In short, most standard-of-living research has been concerned with habits or norms of consumption during a given period of time. The "scientific" dietary standards are of great importance, and experts have learned much about "desirable" standards of housing or clothing. Likewise significant are detailed budgetary analyses comparing the content of living of various types of families.

The present study approaches the problem of standards of living by relating material and nonmaterial possessions and social activities to expressed attitudes of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various aspects of living. The uniqueness of this approach is its emphasis upon standards of satisfactions. Such standards cannot be determined by exact scientific measurement. They belong to the very nature of personality. Human beings seek as major goals or objectives satisfying ways of life. It is assumed that the attainment of a satisfying life is a major criterion of a high standard of living.

The consumption of goods and services and participation in a vocation and in group activities must be evaluated in the light of how well they serve the basic needs of human beings. Beyond the biological and immediate needs for food, shelter, rest, and relaxation, and beyond the specific wishes or wants for the comforts and conveniences displayed by modern advertising, are fundamental social objectives or values sought by human beings. These have not yet been fully identified or completely described, but it is commonly recognized that there are such values and that they arise out of human experience in group life. It is quite generally agreed among students of human nature, for example, that men crave to live securely and with greater or lesser degrees of intimacy with others who comprise their own group and that they desire to rise in the social and economic scale, to achieve status, and to gain recognition from others. These and other human values become, for the individual, the basic objectives around which he organizes his life. The individual concerned with more immediate purposes is not always conscious of the more remote objectives he pursues, but it can be assumed that his feeling of well-being, happiness, and satisfaction in living is dependent upon the realization of such goals.

It must not be concluded that standards of living are solely individual matters. Persons live, move, and have their being in social groups. A way of living considered satisfying to a particular individual may be disapproved by the group and out of harmony with social standards and socially sanctioned modes of behavior. The criminal, the pauper, the ne'er-do-well, and the hobo indicate a few roles or ways of living that depart from cultural standards and are socially undesirable regardless of how much satisfaction the particular individual derives from them.

Standards of living as here conceived consist of those interrelated types of human activity which most adequately conform to cultural norms and which most adequately meet the biological needs and the social goals of individuals. Such standards must be measured not in terms of man's instrumental activities alone, but also in terms of the extent to which those activities serve him in the realization of his basic values. Possession of goods and achievement of specific purposes are important in so far as they enable man to meet his biological needs

and in so far as they serve the deep needs of personality and enable him to live a satisfying life among his fellow men. To think of human welfare only in terms of the increasing use of automobiles, radios, bathtubs, and other comforts and conveniences is to confuse means with ends. The vast network of culture can be considered as instrumental to the realization of human values. How well these instruments serve human purposes in modern life is a question of major importance.

Persons seek to adjust themselves to the demands of their social environment, to achieve their basic goals, and to find happiness and satisfaction in living. In so far as the consumption of goods and services contributes to the realization of happiness, satisfaction, and social adjustment, such consumption raises the standard of living. The person who has achieved a maximum standard of living is the normal well-adjusted individual. He will not be without recurring mental or emotional conflicts, for such conflicts are inevitable phases of social life and personal growth. But his adjustment to these conflicts as they occur will be made with relative ease. A minimum of frustration and a maximum of contentment will characterize such a person. His basic biological needs are met on a continuing basis; his imperious cultural wants are satisfied; and his deep social goals are being achieved as he plays his roles in the ongoing life of society. It is to be expected that such a person will express satisfaction with his way of life and that such expression will constitute a measure of his happiness and his social adjustment.

METHOD OF STUDY

To achieve the purposes of this study, interviews were made in 299 farm homes during the winter of 1939-1940. The sample families were carefully selected by random methods from detailed spot maps showing the location of farm dwellings in Allen, Mahoning, and Washington Counties. These counties were purposively chosen on the basis of available information to represent the three major level-of-living areas of Ohio: the western-agricultural area, the urban-industrial area, and the southeastern-hill area (fig. 1). A single interviewer visited all the selected families and recorded data on prepared schedules. Wherever possible, both the husband and wife were drawn into the conversation, but frequently one person provided the information.

From data concerning possession or nonpossession of 77 specific items, it was possible to construct a quantitative index of *level of living*. To facilitate the analysis of groups of level-of-living items that are similar, this index was subdivided into levels of economic security, education, communication, housing, safety and sanitation, and electrical conveniences. Two types of social activities were included as *social participation*. The first of these, referred to as formal participation, included activities in organized groups or institutions. The second, referred to as informal participation, included such social and recreational contacts with other people as visiting and attending movies. As a measure of the comparative extent to which farmers and their wives participated in organized groups, an index of formal social participation was devised. In constructing this index, affiliations, attendance, financial contributions, committee memberships, and officerships were considered as criteria of participation. The third major variable of this study, *social adjustment*, was not amenable to as exact measurement as were the other two, yet it was possible to make

Map of New York State showing 1980 population density by county. The map is divided into counties, each with a number representing population density. The map includes labels for major water bodies: Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the Hudson River. The state is bordered by Pennsylvania to the west, New Jersey to the south, and Connecticut to the east. The map uses three patterns to represent population density: diagonal lines for 98 and under, dots for 99-108, and cross-hatching for 109 and over. A legend in the bottom right corner explains these patterns. A box labeled 'SAMPLE COUNTY' is shown in the bottom left corner.

INDEX

- 98 AND UNDER
- 99 - 108
- 109 AND OVER

STATE AVERAGE = 100

Although the three categories, level of living, social participation, and social adjustment, represent the central problem of this research, it appeared necessary to study the effect of other factors which might bear significant relationships to standards of living. Consequently, data concerning occupation, family composition, age, nationality, religion, urban experience, and other factors were secured. Finally, impressionistic ratings of certain personality traits were made by the interviewer on the assumption that such traits as temperament, intelligence, or other personal factors might have important effects upon social adjustment.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE SAMPLE

Although the number of families interviewed was only a little more than one-tenth of 1 per cent of all rural-farm families in the State, the sample is believed to represent a fair cross section of Ohio farmers. The assumption of representativeness of the 299 families studied was in most cases upheld by favorable comparison with data from the United States Census for the entire State. For example, the families interviewed in the three counties from which the sample was drawn contained 1,157 persons, an average of 4.2 persons per family. The average number of persons per rural-farm family in these counties in 1930 according to The Fifteenth Census of the United States was 4.3 and in all counties of the State was 4.2, a close agreement with the sample.

The population in the sample was distributed among the three counties in about the same proportions as was the total rural-farm population in 1930.

Of each 100 persons—

in the sample	in the rural-farm population (1930)	
40	41	were in Washington County
32	31	were in Allen County
28	28	were in Mahoning County

The ratio of the sexes was exactly the same in the population included in the sample, in the 1930 rural-farm population of the State, and in the three counties studied. In all cases 53 per cent of the farm population was male and 47 per cent female.

The age distribution of all persons in the families studied showed a discrepancy between the ratios of persons under 15 years old in the sample and in the 1930 population. Some variation in this age group was expected, however, since during the 10 years following 1930, the farm population has aged.

Of each 100 persons—

in the sample	in the three counties (1930)	in the State (1930)	
25	31	30	were under 15 years of age
68	61	62	were 15-64 years of age
7	8	8	were age 65 and over

The age distribution of heads of families in the sample was in close correspondence with that reported by The Fifteenth Census of the United States.

Of each 100 male heads of families—

in the sample	in the State (1930)	
15	16	were under 35 years of age
45	48	were 35-54 years of age
26	21	were 55-64 years of age
14	15	were age 65 and over

The distribution of farms by size was not greatly different in the sample, in the three counties, and in the entire State (state and county data from The 1935 Census of Agriculture).

Of each 100 farms—

in the sample	in the three counties (1935)	in the State (1935)	
19	19	18	had fewer than 20 acres
49	51	46	had 20-99 acres
32	30	36	had 100 or more acres

Further indications of the extent to which the sample may represent a cross section of the State are seen in comparisons with respect to certain level-of-living items. The use of many of these items, particularly automobiles, electric lights, and radios, has changed in extent during the past 10 years. This fact, rather than lack of representativeness of the sample, probably accounts for the discrepancies with respect to these items.

Of each 100 families—

in the sample	in the three counties (1930)	in the State (1930)	
85	74	79	had automobiles
54	57	55	had telephones
32	32	29	had piped water
84	31	36	had radios
59	24	26	had electric lights

Although census figures dealing with type of family among the rural-farm population were not available for the State of Ohio, the structure of the families interviewed was found to conform closely to that of the rural-farm population in the Country as a whole. Of each 100 of these families, 87 were unbroken families of husband and wife; 11 were broken homes of only one spouse with or without children; 2 were single persons or nonfamily groups.

Of each 100 families in the sample—

63	consisted of husband, wife, and children
24	consisted of husband and wife without children
6	consisted of a father or a mother with children
5	consisted of a husband or wife; one parent was absent
2	consisted of single persons or nonfamily groups

Although all the families studied lived on tracts of land which were classed as farms, not all heads of families were, strictly speaking, farmers by occupation. Classified on the basis of the occupation from which they earned the major part of their income, only 56 per cent were farm operators; 47 per cent were farm owners, and 9 per cent were farm tenants. Nearly 8 per cent were professional or clerical workers; 17 per cent were skilled or semiskilled workers; 7 per cent were laborers; and 12 per cent received most of their income from Works Projects Administration and other governmental programs. Only 56 per cent of the heads of the families derived the major part of their income from the operation of farms, but an additional 34 per cent derived the second largest part of their income from farm operations. Hence, 90 per cent engaged in farm operations as their primary or as their secondary occupation. The remaining 10 per cent were farmers only by virtue of the fact that they lived on a farm and derived some income from farming.

The educational achievement of the heads of these families as indicated by the highest grade completed in school was rather meager. Of each 100 male heads, only 19 had finished high school; 12 had 9-11 years of schooling; 21 had

not reached the eighth grade; and 69 had not advanced beyond the eighth grade. Their wives had received a little more education: 29 had completed high school; 14 had 9-11 years; 18 had not reached the eighth grade; and 57 had not attained more than elementary school level.

LEVEL OF LIVING

In the modern world, abundant living has increasingly come to be identified with the consumption of goods and services. People judge each other to a large extent by what they consume, the kind of houses they live in, the kind of clothes they wear, the way they spend their leisure time, the amount and kinds of furnishings, and the accessories and conveniences they use. In our present society, the status men strive for—the “success” they aspire to achieve—is defined largely in terms of income, accumulated possessions, or spending habits. These criteria of “success” constitute a basic pattern of American culture and must be recognized as an important means of achieving a satisfying life.

What do Ohio farm families possess in the way of housing, household equipment, means of transportation and communication, health, education, and other means for living and for acquiring status in the modern world? Since different families possess different things, how can a summary measure be devised to indicate the content of living of a particular family in comparison with other families? How do farm families in different sections of the State differ in their average level of living? How are levels of living related to tenure status, educational achievement, and religious affiliation? These are some of the specific questions this study aims to answer.

DEFINITION OF LEVEL OF LIVING

The level of living of a family, sometimes referred to as its scale of living, plane of living, or socioeconomic status³ consists of the nature and quantity of goods and services possessed at a given time or consumed during a given period. Under the concept, level of living, are included materially measurable possessions of all sorts: household conveniences, land and business accessories, income, health, education, and a host of related acquisitions which imply activities that are directed toward the satisfaction of biological requirements and cultural and social needs.

Level of living is not the same as standard of living, though these terms are often used synonymously. The term “level” is used to refer to the *content* of living of a given family as compared with that of other families. The term “standard” implies a socially acceptable content of living based on relevant criteria of adequacy, but includes also the *quality* of living as reflected in social adjustment and satisfaction. The standard of living implies a group way of life that brings a maximum amount of satisfaction to each individual member of the group. The person who achieves his own satisfactions at the expense of others or by hindering the adjustment of others cannot be said to have an adequate standard of living regardless of what his level of living may be. Level of living is, then, a segment of standard of living.

³The most definitive use of the concept, socioeconomic status, is that of F. S. Chapin (*The Measurement of Social Status*. University of Minnesota Press. 1933), who uses it more broadly than level of living as here defined. He includes social participation, material possessions, cultural possessions, and effective income. As used in the present study, level of living includes the last three categories but not social participation.

MEASURING LEVEL OF LIVING

Farm families differ widely in the particular items they possess, and there are a great many specific items which should be considered as a part of the level of living of a family. Some items are better indicators of level of living than others. A can opener is, for example, less significant than a refrigerator. Differences between items like a vacuum cleaner and a refrigerator are harder to evaluate. One family may have among its possessions a refrigerator, a radio, and a case full of books, but no automobile, telephone, or vacuum cleaner; another may be in exactly the opposite situation. The number of items by which families are compared may be extended to a hundred or to a thousand, but valid comparisons of the families cannot be made by simply counting the number of items they possess. The fallacy of such a procedure is illustrated by comparing a backwoods kitchen and its innumerable utensils with a modern kitchenette.

A measure or index of level of living was prepared by the selection of a list of items, the presence or absence of which was indicative of a family's scale of living, and by determining the relative importance of each item selected. In choosing the items, the procedure was to select from a preliminary list of a large number of items, 77 which were considered to be the best indicators of level of living of farm people.⁴ The selection was made by excluding obviously trivial items, such as can openers, or items, such as beds, cooking utensils, or others, which were so commonly found that they would not differentiate low level-of-living classes from high ones. Further reduction was made by applying statistical tests⁵ to determine which items were most useful in distinguishing between families at different levels of living. After careful testing, 59 items were retained for use in the final scale.

In determining the importance of a particular item in the total index, two factors were considered: its frequency of occurrence (the percentage of all families possessing the item) and its capacity to differentiate between low and high level-of-living classes. It was assumed that such a common item as linoleum on the kitchen floor, possessed by 94 per cent of all farm families, was of less importance than electric sweepers, possessed by only 42 per cent. Likewise, it was assumed that an item, such as the telephone, which was possessed by much larger proportions of the families with high than with low levels of living, was of greater importance than the automobile, which distinguished less well between these classes of families. To reflect the relative importance of the various items, a numerical weight or score for each item was statistically determined.⁶ These scores for the 59 items were averaged to obtain a composite level-of-living index for each of the families included in the study. The

⁴Items considered important by social scientists and extension workers. Several excellent studies were drawn upon for this list and for the general method of constructing the index of level of living, particularly, Sewell, William H. The construction and standardization of a scale for the measurement of the socioeconomic status of Oklahoma farm families. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin No. 9. April 1940; and Leahy, A. M. The Measurement of Urban Home Environment. University of Minnesota Press. 1936.

⁵Tentative composite scores were calculated by assigning arbitrary weights to the 77 items, and the 299 families were sorted into low and high groups on the basis of these tentative scores. Tests of significance of the differences between the percentage of families in each half (low and high) were then made. The criterion of significance was that the difference should be so great that only once in 370 times could it occur by chance, a critical ratio of 3.0.

⁶Diagnostic ability of each was weighted in terms of the critical ratio, whereas frequency of occurrence was handled by converting percentages into standard-deviation units through reference to an area table of the normal curve of errors (see Leahy, *op. cit.*). Weights assigned by the two methods were then multiplied together for the final weight of each of the 59 items.

items included in the final index and the percentage of families possessing each of them are shown in table 1.

TABLE 1.—Per cent of families possessing specified items
by county and by level-of-living class

Item*	Total	County			Level of living class†			
		Wash- ington	Allen	Ma- honing	Low- est	Intermediate		High- est
						Lower	Higher	
Electric sweeper.....	42	14	47	69	3	15	56	97
Electric iron.....	61	24	67	87	14	40	89	97
Telephone.....	54	34	65	66	11	43	71	93
Electric or gas lights.....	68	49	69	89	32	53	89	99
Mechanical refrigerator or icebox.....	52	35	47	75	15	39	55	95
Furnace or gas fireplace.....	42	23	32	73	8	20	52	86
Indoor toilet.....	23	8	21	41	1	1	15	74
Separate bathroom.....	27	12	26	47	3	8	21	78
At least 45 books.....	52	40	61	62	6	60	66	88
Living room floors finished.....	70	57	78	66	24	77	80	99
Septic tank, cesspool, or sewer connection.....	21	5	15	42	1	3	13	75
At least 4 magazine subscriptions.....	54	40	70	57	8	61	67	85
Kitchen sink.....	67	50	69	83	27	60	85	97
Bookcase.....	53	42	62	68	13	50	67	89
Power washing machine.....	77	60	81	93	35	75	95	100
Water piped or pumped into house.....	62	45	65	78	23	57	73	93
Separate dining room.....	69	55	84	69	32	67	80	99
Rugs or carpet on living room floor.....	74	50	87	88	33	73	91	97
Savings account.....	52	41	58	61	19	39	67	87
Insurable value of dwelling more than \$1,275.....	68	30	94	90	28	63	86	93
Daily newspaper.....	83	71	88	95	44	93	96	100
Insurance on furniture.....	78	62	89	85	38	81	96	96
Upholstered living room suite.....	56	36	72	64	23	47	69	86
Checking account.....	40	36	47	36	6	39	46	70
Piano or organ.....	53	39	58	66	16	54	60	81
Radio.....	85	66	100	97	49	91	99	100
House of brick, stucco, or painted frame.....	71	55	81	77	39	71	80	96
Lounge other than bed, couch, or bench.....	76	58	83	82	43	74	89	97
Living room walls solid plaster or wallboard.....	84	62	92	81	53	88	96	99
Living room woodwork finished.....	83	76	92	79	50	92	92	99
Life insurance on husband.....	48	30	51	69	17	39	67	71
Automobile.....	85	67	97	93	57	91	96	97
Separate kitchen.....	73	65	85	71	45	71	80	96
Spent more than \$10 last year for books, schooling.....	33	19	46	33	5	29	42	60
Clock other than alarm in living room.....	74	68	85	71	39	92	76	95
Cash income of at least \$325 per annum in unit.....	48	25	46	75	22	34	71	84
Electric, gas, oil, or gasoline kitchen stove.....	50	48	54	50	30	37	58	79
At least 35 acres of land cropped last year.....	48	25	78	44	14	54	60	65
Kitchen cabinet.....	85	72	97	90	57	93	90	99
Live on hard surface road.....	43	19	34	81	22	25	56	70
Lawn in summer.....	90	80	99	96	64	98	100	99
Living room walls papered, painted, decorative plaster.....	82	79	86	76	58	82	92	94
Occasional table in living room.....	91	84	99	92	71	96	96	100
Vacation last year.....	27	24	30	30	16	16	26	55
Did not receive relief.....	93	89	99	99	77	96	99	100
Health score of head, one or less.....	59	42	77	69	31	63	72	73
At least 1.7 rooms per person.....	39	33	43	41	24	31	39	62
Blinds and curtains or drapes.....	93	83	99	96	77	97	97	100
Classified as farm owner.....	75	84	68	78	55	77	78	91
Linoeum on kitchen floor.....	94	86	100	96	76	100	99	100
Life insurance on wife.....	29	15	28	50	13	17	42	44
Separate living room.....	94	91	99	92	80	97	99	100
Sewing machine.....	89	82	92	95	70	95	95	96
Steps to house concrete or built-in wood.....	90	86	95	85	74	95	97	97
Husband had some high school training.....	31	24	42	29	14	31	36	46
No work lost on account of sickness.....	66	55	76	68	48	64	78	74
Health score of wife, less than one.....	50	35	60	62	33	43	60	67
Wife had some high school training.....	43	35	50	46	27	38	52	57
Live less than 3.5 miles from school.....	67	61	68	73	53	65	76	76
Average for all items.....	62	49	69	71	35	59	72	87

*Items are ranked in the order of their diagnostic capacity.

†Based on quartile groups.

‡166 families gave information, 72 in Washington, 89 in Allen, and 55 in Mahoning.

To permit independent analysis of related types of level-of-living items, six specific indices were constructed by adding together the scores⁷ of the particular items. A specific index of the communication level of a family was prepared by summation of the scores for possession or nonpossession of the following items: telephone, radio, daily newspaper subscription, and type of road. Distance from school and recency of vacation were also included in this index. Specific indices of levels of education, economic security, sanitation and safety, housing, and possession of electrical conveniences were similarly constructed.⁸

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

Level-of-living scores of the 299 families ranged from 15 at the lowest extreme to 23 at the top. The largest number of families had scores centering around 20, which was average for all. The highest two-fifths had scores of 21 and over; the lowest one-third had scores of 19 or less (table 2).

TABLE 2.—Level of living of Ohio farm families

Score	Total	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Number of families	299	6	10	18	27	44	72	51	52	19
Per cent of families	100	2	3	6	9	15	24	17	18	6

The purpose of computing level-of-living scores was to measure the comparative extent to which farm families use goods and services provided by the culture. That the measure serves this purpose is shown by its discrimination between families which differ in the content of their living. When the 299 families were ranked from lowest to highest level-of-living scores and divided into 4 equal groups, wide differences were observed in the percentage possessing various items. Electric sweepers, for example, were possessed by only 3 per cent of the lowest one-fourth of the families as compared with 15, 56, and 97 per cent, respectively, of the succeeding three higher classes (table 1).

The level of living as measured in terms of the composite index differed considerably between the three counties included in this study. In Washington County, representing southeastern Ohio, the average (mean) score was only 19.2 as compared with 20.5 in Allen County in the western-agricultural section and 20.9 in Mahoning County in the urban-industrial section. In Washington County only 15 per cent scored among the upper two-fifths, and 43 per cent

⁷The scores assigned in constructing the level-of-living index.

⁸These indices were constructed by addition of the weights assigned in the process described above. *Education items* include radio, books, bookcase, magazine subscriptions, daily newspaper subscriptions, expenditures for education, highest grade in school; *economic security items* include farm tenure status, insurance on family members and on furniture, bank accounts, effective income per person, relief status, acreage of cropland; *sanitation and safety items* include number of rooms per person, water piped into house, kitchen sink, sewage disposal system, toilet facilities, bathroom in house, heating facilities, lighting facilities, kitchen range, type of steps to house, washing machine; *housing items* include number of rooms per person, house construction, wall construction and decoration, finishing of floors and woodwork, separate kitchen, separate dining room, separate living room, insurable value of dwelling, construction of steps; *electrical conveniences* include radio, refrigerator, lights, sweeper, washer, iron, sewing machine, kitchen range. Pearsonian coefficients of correlation of each of these six specific indices with the general level-of-living index minus the items of the specific index being tested were all significant: communication, 0.76; others in respective order, 0.69, 0.87, 0.74, 0.60, 0.83. When corrected by Spearman-Brown formula, $r = 2r / (1 + r)$, the coefficients were: 0.86, 0.82, 0.93, 0.85, 0.75, 0.91. Standard error of sampling = 0.18.

scored among the lowest one-fifth. In Allen County 46 per cent and in Mahoning County 65 per cent of the families ranked among the upper two-fifths of all families (fig. 2).

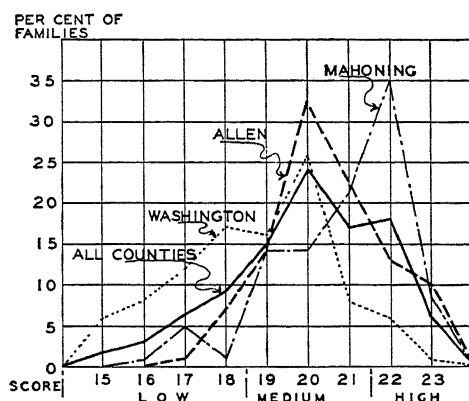


Fig. 2.—Level of living by county

A clearer picture of the differences between the three counties with respect to level of living can be had by referring to the possession of specific items. For example, only one-third of all families in Washington County had telephones as compared with two-thirds of all families in each of the other two counties. Mechanical or ice refrigeration was possessed by 35, 47, and 75 per cent, respectively, of the families in Washington, Allen, and Mahoning Counties. Similarly, Washington County ranked lowest in each of the 59 items included as indicators of level of living; an exception was the percentage of families owning farms. Mahoning County ranked highest on 26 items and Allen County on 32. The rank order of items is not, however, indicative of the total index of a county, for the 26 items on which Mahoning County ranked highest resulted in a higher total level-of-living score than did the 32 items on which Allen County was highest. The items for which Mahoning County ranked highest were found to be most diagnostic of level of living and consequently received higher scores.

Differences between the three counties became even more obvious when specific indices of level of living were compared. Washington was lowest in every comparison. Mahoning County was most strikingly above Allen County in electrical conveniences and sanitation and safety items, also ranked higher in communication and education items, and exactly the same in economic security items. Allen County ranked first on housing items.

Mean scores—	Washington	Allen	Mahoning
of educational level	18.4	20.3	20.5
of communication level	19.0	20.4	20.5
of economic security level	18.8	20.6	20.6
of sanitation and safety	18.6	20.0	21.5
of housing	18.9	20.7	20.1
of electrical conveniences	18.9	20.3	22.2

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

The level of living was found to be dependent to a considerable extent upon the occupational status of the head of the family. Farm tenants had a lower level of living than did owners, and owners with mortgages on their farms lived at a lower level than those with debt-free land. Only 2 of every 10 tenant families were among the comparatively well-to-do upper two-fifths of the farmers studied as compared with nearly one-half of all owner families and more than one-half of those owners without a mortgage on their land.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 46 per cent of all farm owners
- 52 per cent of all owners without mortgages
- 32 per cent of all owners with mortgages
- 20 per cent of all farm tenants
- Median level-of-living scores: 20.3, 20.6, 19.8, 19.0

A smaller difference between farm owners and tenants with respect to level of living was found when these groups were restricted to full-time farmers including those whose major source of income was farming. When part-time farmers who received most of their income from nonfarm occupations were excluded, 29 per cent of the tenants and 48 per cent of the owners ranked among the upper two-fifths of the families. When the part-time farmers were classified according to the occupation from which they received the largest part of their income, it was found that those engaged in skilled, semiskilled, and white-collar jobs ranked higher on the scale of living than did the full-time farm owners. Those engaged in unskilled jobs ranked lower, however, than did the full-time farm tenants.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 69 per cent of those whose heads were white-collar workers
- 51 per cent of those whose heads were skilled or semiskilled workers
- 48 per cent of those whose heads were farm owners
- 29 per cent of those whose heads were farm tenants
- 23 per cent of those whose heads were nonrelief laborers
- 5 per cent of those whose heads were WPA workers and pensioners
- Median level-of-living scores: 21.1, 20.5, 20.4, 19.7, 18.8, 17.4

As might have been expected, families with little cropland lived at lower levels than did those with considerable land. Although more than one-half of those with 60 acres of cropland were among the upper two-fifths, only one-fourth of those with fewer than 20 acres ranked equally high on the scale of living.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 56 per cent of those with 60 or more acres of cropland
- 42 per cent of those with 20-59 acres of cropland
- 26 per cent of those with less than 20 acres of cropland
- Median level-of-living scores: 20.8, 19.9, 19.1

TYPE OF FAMILY

It has frequently been claimed that the larger families have a lower level of living than the smaller ones. These data confirm the belief, but with qualifications. Large families having seven or more persons ranked lowest on the scale of living, but families of only one or two persons ranked lower than those of intermediate size.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 10 per cent of those having 7 or more persons
- 50 per cent of those having 5 or 6 persons
- 47 per cent of those having 3 or 4 persons
- 35 per cent of those having 1 or 2 persons
- Median level-of-living scores: 18.3, 20.4, 20.3, 19.8

That the smaller families of only one or two persons ranked so low on the scale of living is not surprising if account is taken that this class included newly married couples who had not yet acquired the goods or statuses which would give them high scores. Furthermore, this group included elderly people who were widowed or whose children had left home. They were less likely to have spent money for many of the items which would have raised their scores on the present index of level of living.

Differences between various age groups are not of great importance in explaining level-of-living differentials. Those families whose heads were 55-64 years of age, however, had higher levels of living than those of other age groups.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 37 per cent of those whose head was 65 or over
- 48 per cent of those whose head was age 55-64
- 38 per cent of those whose head was age 35-54
- 38 per cent of those whose head was age 20-34
- Median level-of-living scores: 19.8, 20.4, 19.9, 19.9

The presence or absence of children in farm families made little difference in the level of living. About equal proportions of those with and without children ranked high on the level-of-living scale. A smaller proportion of the broken families and single persons ranked high on the scale.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

- 31 per cent of the single or broken families
- 42 per cent of the unbroken families with children
- 43 per cent of the unbroken families without children
- Median level-of-living scores: 18.7, 20.1, 19.3

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

That educational achievement, as measured by the highest grade completed in school by head of the family and his wife, is related to the level of living, is shown in the information obtained in this study. The bulk of the heads of families and wives had about 8 years of schooling, and the wives averaged slightly more than their husbands. When the two were jointly considered in relation to level of living, it was found that the better educated ranked much higher on the scale of living than the less well educated.

Among the upper two-fifths of all families were—

60 per cent of those with schooling of 12 years and over
 41 per cent of those with schooling of 8-11 years
 16 per cent of those with schooling of less than 8 years
 Median level-of-living scores: 20.9, 20.1, 18.5

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Families that belonged to churches generally had higher levels of living than did those not affiliated with any religious group. It was found that of those families whose heads or wives were church members, 62 per cent were among the upper level-of-living group as here defined. The percentage was only 27 for those not affiliated with any church. Among the denominational groups, the Methodists and Lutherans had the highest levels of living. The 141 persons (heads of families and wives) who belonged to miscellaneous small Protestant denominations had higher levels of living than those belonging to any of the larger denominations.

Among the upper two-fifths of all family heads and wives were—

5 per cent of the 20 Baptists
 39 per cent of the 33 members of Christian Union
 47 per cent of the 38 Catholics
 59 per cent of the 24 Presbyterians
 63 per cent of the 43 Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers
 67 per cent of the 179 Methodists
 72 per cent of the 141 unclassified Protestants
 73 per cent of the 33 Lutherans
 Median level-of-living scores: 18.9, 20.1, 20.4, 20.8, 20.8,
 21.5, 21.8, 21.3

Although denominational differences in levels of living were observed, the number of persons for whom information was available was limited. Dogmatic conclusions concerning these differences are not justified.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

People of this day must constantly readapt themselves to a complex and ever-changing social environment. Elements of strain and dissatisfaction are common among rural as well as among urban peoples. To relieve the strains or disjunctions between himself and the conditions under which he lives constitutes a basic problem for the farmer and for members of his family. The specific ways in which he may adjust himself to the environment are many, but only two general alternatives are possible: either altering the environment or changing himself. On the one hand, he may move away from an unpleasant situation, buy new tools or conveniences, adopt new soil practices, discard out-moded possessions or ways of doing things, find new friends, join other organizations, or otherwise alter the conditions which are not to his liking. The second means of adjustment, that of changing himself, is often the easier alternative. He may adapt himself by changing his attitude and making the most of what he has or by substituting one form of satisfaction for another. For some, adjustment to otherwise unbearable situations is made through religion, through reinterpreting events as the will of God. Other persons rely upon artistry or hobbies as devices for simplifying the process of adjustment.

Whatever the means a person uses for removing the emotional or mental conflicts inherent in modern living, he who makes the most adequate adjustment lives the most satisfying life. Unsuccessful adjustment leads to frustration, inefficient living, and dissatisfaction. A knowledge of the degree of satisfaction a person has with particular situations or with his general way of life—his total situation—gives a cross-section picture of his adjustment. The process of meeting every crisis or problem over a period of time cannot be observed, but the extent of satisfaction at a given time reflects the adequacy of adjustment. It is from this point of view that the present section aims to show the degree to which Ohio farm people are adjusted to what they have and the kind of factors which affect the adjustment.

MEASURING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

In the present study, social adjustment was measured in terms of expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way of living, both in its entirety and in its various aspects. The measurements were made on the basis of ratings on a five-point scale of satisfaction ranging from "entirely satisfied" at one extreme to "entirely dissatisfied" at the other. The particular aspects

⁹The word "entirely" was not used in an absolute sense; it merely represented a point on the scale. It is recognized that persons who were rated at this point still had unsatisfied wants; but among those so rated, the interviewer found no complaints.

TABLE 3.—Adjustment of persons to aspects of living

Aspect of living	Total*		Per cent of persons—				
	Num- ber	Per cent	Entirely satisfied	Mostly satisfied	Equal†	Mostly dissatis- fied	Entirely dissatis- fied
Health:							
Health of head of family.....	393	100	47	26	11	9	7
Health of wife.....	374	100	40	32	14	7	7
Health of children.....	291	100	62	25	8	3	2
Living conditions:							
Household conveniences.....	407	100	22	41	22	9	6
Other living conditions.....	397	100	29	42	17	8	4
Farm and farming:							
Present farm.....	412	100	44	20	19	10	7
Farming as income source.....	415	100	44	18	15	15	8
Farming as a way of life.....	417	100	80	11	5	2	2
Home and family:							
Present family life.....	395	100	44	29	20	5	2
Social-recreational:							
Activity in social groups.....	412	100	63	19	7	8	3
Neighborhood:							
Neighborhood.....	408	100	68	18	7	5	2
Neighbors.....	410	100	69	17	11	2	1
Community services:							
Community churches.....	395	100	75	8	8	2	7
Local government.....	389	100	49	22	19	3	7
Educational facilities.....	401	100	69	15	7	7	2
Recreational facilities.....	376	100	79	10	5	4	2
Selling facilities.....	380	100	57	17	16	8	2
Buying facilities.....	395	100	87	8	2	3	0
Health and medical facilities..	397	100	75	14	4	3	4
All aspects:							
Total way of life.....	408	100	25	47	16	9	3

*Includes heads of families and their wives.

†Equally satisfied and dissatisfied.

of living for which ratings were made were 19 in number, but they were classified into the following 7 groups: health, living conditions, the farm and the occupation of farming, home and family life, social and recreational life, the neighborhood, and the community services and institutions (table 3). Results of ratings with respect to each of these aspects of living can be referred to as "partial adjustment." Finally, each person interviewed was rated according to the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction he expressed with his way of life in general, "everything considered." The results of this rating are referred to as "total adjustment."

The ratings were made by the interviewer after gaining the confidence of each interviewee, after leading him to talk freely about many phases of his environment, and after careful observation of his reactions. Since ratings were made from a single interview, they are subject to errors of judgment or observation on the part of the interviewer, as well as to errors of statement on the part of the persons interviewed. Some of the ratings may have been influenced by failure on the part of persons to reveal their true attitudes.

Because of time limitations, only the heads of families and their wives were rated as to satisfaction. Scores of adjustment were arrived at by arbitrarily assigning weights of 1 to 5 to the five positions of the scale. The high scores indicated good adjustment; that is, a score of 5 represented "entirely satisfied" and a score of 4 "mostly satisfied"; a score of 1 represented "entirely dissatisfied"; a score of 2 "mostly dissatisfied"; and a score of 3 represented "equally satisfied and dissatisfied." Family scores were derived by averaging the individual scores of family heads and their wives.

EXTENT OF ADJUSTMENT TO TOTAL WAY OF LIVING

Of all persons included in the study, 25 per cent expressed complete satisfaction with their modes of living, that is, with all aspects of their living. An additional 47 per cent were reported as mostly satisfied, making about 7 out of every 10 satisfied to a greater or lesser extent. At the other extreme, only 3 per cent were rated as completely dissatisfied, and an additional 9 per cent were mostly dissatisfied. The remainder (16 per cent) occupied the middle position on the total adjustment scale (table 3).

The distribution of families on the scale of total adjustment differed very little among the three counties included in the study. Allen and Washington County farmers included in the sample showed slightly better adjustment than those of Mahoning County, but the variations are probably not significant of area differences in satisfaction (table 4)

TABLE 4.—Total adjustment by county

Adjustment score*	Total	Washington	Allen	Mahoning
Number of families	298	109	96	93
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	5	3	1
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	9	8	7	11
3 (equal)	18	16	17	20
4 (mostly satisfied)	46	47	45	46
5 (entirely satisfied)	24	24	28	22
Median score	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.8

By chi-square test (2×3 table) $P > 0.50$.

*Average of head of family and wife.

EXTENT OF ADJUSTMENT TO PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF LIVING

When the degree of satisfaction with particular types of situations was considered, the same preponderance of satisfaction over dissatisfaction found in total adjustment was observed. With health conditions of family members, 75 per cent were satisfied. As to living conveniences and other conditions, 63 per cent were contented. The home and family situations were satisfactory to 71 per cent of all family heads and wives. Concerning both farming as an occupation and the farm plant, 81 per cent were happy with their situations. Their social and recreational lives were also satisfactory to 81 per cent of the families. With their neighborhoods and neighbors, 84 per cent were satisfied. An even larger proportion, 87 per cent, were contented with the community services which they had (fig. 3).

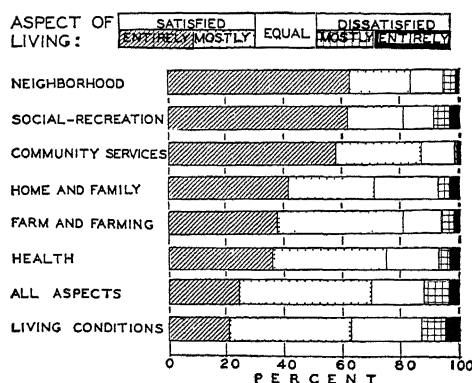


Fig. 3.—Satisfaction with aspects of living

Differences between the adjustment of the farmers in different counties were not great, but Allen County, which represents an area of commercial farming, was found to average consistently higher in adjustment scores wherever any differences did occur. The farmers in Allen County were notably better adjusted to the occupation of farming and to their neighborhoods. Mahoning farmers were less well adjusted to their homes and families than were the farmers of the other two counties. Washington County farmers in the southeastern hill section of the State were less satisfied with community services than were those in either of the other areas. Social-recreational life was also less satisfactory in this county. Statistical tests indicated significant area differences among Ohio farm people in the proportions satisfied or dissatisfied with home and family, farm and farming, social-recreational life, and community services. With respect to satisfaction with other aspects of living included in this study, the persons in the three counties were so nearly alike that no significant area differences were indicated (table 5).

TABLE 5.—Per cent of families satisfied with aspects of living by county

Aspects of living	Total	Washington	Allen	Mahoning
Health	75	71	75	80
Living conditions	63	66	60	64
Home and family	71	76	75	61
Farm and farming	81	77	90	75
Social-recreational	81	78	89	78
Neighborhood	84	81	91	82
Community services	87	74	97	95

By chi-square tests (2×3 tables) area differences in adjustment were found to be significant only with respect to the following aspects of living: home and family, $P < 0.05$; farm and farming, $P < 0.03$; social-recreational life, $P < 0.05$; and community services, $P < 0.01$. All the other aspects were not significantly different from county to county.

AGE OF FAMILY HEAD

Age apparently made very little difference in the degree of total adjustment found among farm people; older and younger persons were satisfied with their ways of life in equal proportions. When adjustment to various aspects of living was studied in relation to age, however, important differences were found. Older persons were significantly less satisfied with their health and the health of their family members than were younger persons. On the other hand, the older farm people were decidedly better satisfied with their farms and with farming than were younger persons. Similarly, larger proportions of older than of younger persons expressed satisfaction with their living conditions and with their social-recreational lives. Age apparently had little effect upon adjustment to the home and family, to the neighborhood, and to community services (table 6).

TABLE 6.—Per cent of families satisfied with aspects of living by age of head of family

Aspect of living	Age of head of family				
	Total	20-34	35-54	55-64	65 and over
All aspects	70	73	66	76	71
Health	75	91	78	69	59
Living conditions	64	56	54	75	75
Home and family	71	66	72	70	73
Farm and farming	81	77	75	84	90
Social-recreational	82	80	74	91	86
Neighborhood	84	81	87	86	79
Community services	87	91	88	91	81

By chi-square tests (2×2 tables) $P < 0.01$ for health, living conditions, and social recreation; $P < 0.04$ for farm and farming; $P > 0.05$ for all other aspects of living.

In interpreting these findings it can be pointed out that actual health problems tended to increase with age. With regard to adjustments to the various aspects of living, the older farm people had become more habituated to farming, more often owned their farms, and were less likely to compare themselves unfavorably with persons in other occupations than were younger farmers.

TYPE OF FAMILY

Farm families comprised of five or six persons appeared to be better adjusted to their living conditions than were either larger or smaller families. In terms of total adjustment, 86 per cent of the five- or six-person families in the sample expressed satisfaction with their situations "as a whole"; only about 70 per cent of the smaller families and only 62 per cent of 32 larger families were equally well satisfied. When adjustment to the several aspects of living was considered, the same relationship was found. The proportion of five- or six-person families satisfied was in no case exceeded by either larger or smaller families.

Although the maximum of social adjustment was found among the families of five or six persons, it cannot be stated with assurance that this finding applies to farm families throughout Ohio. The differences in proportions satisfied were not sufficiently great, nor was the number of large families adequate to give complete confidence in such a generalization for all forms of adjustment. Nevertheless, it probably holds true that the Ohio farm family comprised of five or six persons is generally better adjusted to its total situation, to its living conditions, and to its community services than are larger or smaller families (table 7).

TABLE 7.—Per cent of families satisfied with aspects of living by size of household

Aspect of living	Number of persons in household				
	Total	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 and over
All aspects	72	68	71	86	62
Health	76	69	74	86	78
Living conditions	63	63	67	66	44
Home and family	71	64	72	77	69
Farm and farming	81	79	81	86	73
Social-recreational	82	88	82	82	73
Neighborhood	84	80	80	93	93
Community services	87	80	92	95	73

By chi-square tests (2×3 tables) $P < 0.05$, 0.05, 0.01, respectively, for total adjustment (all aspects), adjustment to living conditions, and adjustment to community services; for all other aspects, $P > 0.05$.

Farm families comprised of parents and children were better adjusted than were those made up of husbands and wives without children. Of the families with one or more children at home, 73 per cent expressed satisfaction with their total living as compared with only 62 per cent of those without children in the household. Not only were those families with children at home better adjusted to their modes of living (as a whole) than were those without children, but they were also better adjusted to most aspects of living (table 8).

There were 38 heads of households included in this study who were widowed, divorced, or single. In some respects they were satisfied in as large or larger proportions than were those of complete families of husbands, wives, and children. The sample is too small, however, to warrant any reliable conclusion regarding this group.

TABLE 8.—Per cent of families satisfied with aspects of living by family composition

Aspect of living	Total	Unbroken		Broken or single
		With children	Without children	
All aspects	70	73	62	73
Health	75	80	63	71
Living conditions	63	61	66	66
Home and family	71	74	64	67
Farm and farming	81	81	75	90
Social-recreational	81	77	80	97
Neighborhood	84	87	79	89
Community service	87	90	86	82

By chi-square tests (2×3 tables) only health adjustment ($P < 0.02$) and social-recreational adjustment ($P < 0.02$) were significant; all other aspects were not significant ($P > 0.10$).

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

Farm owners were more often satisfied with their total living than were tenants and laborers, and those owners who held clear titles to their land were more often satisfied than were those whose land was mortgaged. With their health and with their homes and family lives, tenant farmers were slightly better satisfied than were owners. In all other respects, however, tenant farmers were less often satisfied. In each particular aspect of living and with respect to total living, farm laborers were more often poorly adjusted than were either owners or tenants. The number of farm laborers included in the sample was too small, however, to make thoroughly reliable generalizations about them¹⁰ (table 9).

TABLE 9.—Per cent of families satisfied with aspects of living by tenure status

Aspect of living	Total	Without mortgage	With mortgage	Tenants	All other classes
All aspects	70	79	73	50	44
Health	74	75	75	79	56
Living conditions	64	75	64	54	46
Home and family	70	74	72	81	56
Farm and farming	81	85	83	73	44
Social-recreational	80	79	84	79	63
Neighborhood	84	86	90	79	75
Community services	87	88	87	86	79

By chi-square tests (2×3 tables) only total adjustment, farm and farming, and living conditions were significant ($P < 0.01$); no other aspects were significant ($P > 0.10$).

Although all families included in the present study lived on farms, many received the major part of their incomes from sources other than agriculture. When these families were classified into occupational groups upon the basis of the major or primary source of their incomes, social adjustment was found to be closely associated with occupational status. Unskilled laborers showed the poorest adjustment, whether the workers were employed in private industry or were employed on projects operated by the Works Projects Administration.

¹⁰Only 19 families were classed as "all others," a category which included laborers, low-paid farm managers working under direction, etc.

Farm owner-operators and white-collar workers¹¹ were most often satisfied with their ways of living. Between these two extremes were nonfarm workers with varying degrees of skill and farm tenants; the tenants were less well adjusted than the skilled nonfarm workers.

Among the families satisfied with their ways of life (all aspects) were—

- 80 per cent of the farm owners
- 79 per cent of the white-collar workers
- 68 per cent of the skilled and semiskilled workers
- 57 per cent of the farm tenants
- 53 per cent of the laborers (exclusive of WPA)
- 47 per cent of the WPA workers and pensioners

Full-time farmers, whether owners or tenants, were much better satisfied with their farms and with farming than were the part-time farmers whose major source of income was nonagricultural. More than 9 of every 10 farmers who derived all or most of their income from farm operations were satisfied with their lives so far as the farm and farming were concerned. Of those whose major income was earned off the farm, however, only 6 or 7 of every 10 were equally well satisfied with farming.

Among the families satisfied with their farm and with farming were—

- 94 per cent of the farm owners
- 93 per cent of the farm tenants
- 74 per cent of the white-collar workers
- 68 per cent of the laborers (exclusive of WPA)
- 64 per cent of the skilled and semiskilled workers
- 56 per cent of the WPA workers and pensioners

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Persons who had completed eight or more grades in school were more often satisfied than were those who had received less formal schooling. There was no indication, however, that those having a high school education were better adjusted than those who had attended but had not completed high school. The number of persons in the sample who had been graduated from high school was not large enough to generalize for the State as a whole with great assurance. The 38 families in which the head and wife had an average of 12 or more years of school had slightly poorer adjustment to health, to community services, and to farm and farming than did those averaging between 9 and 11 years of school. In home and family adjustment, persons with high school education were less frequently satisfied than were those who had not reached the eighth grade (table 10).

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Persons who belonged to religious groups were found to be better adjusted than were those who did not belong to a church. About 7 of 10 church members were satisfied with their total living as compared with only 6 of 10 of the nonmembers. Differences between the denominations were also evident, but since there was only a small number of persons belonging to certain denominations, the results may not apply beyond the sample.

¹¹White-collar workers include professional, semiprofessional, proprietors, clerical workers, salesmen, etc.

TABLE 10.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with aspects of living by last grade completed in school

Aspect of living	Per cent satisfied*				Per cent dissatisfied†			
	Less than 8	8 grades	9-11 grades	12 or more grades	Less than 8	8 grades	9-11 grades	12 or more grades
All aspects	60	71	77	71	20	9	4	18
Health	65	80	87	81	13	4	2	3
Living conditions	58	61	62	66	20	11	17	13
Home and family	75	70	81	64	10	8	4	4
Farm and farming	65	88	81	71	11	6	2	11
Social-recreational	68	86	73	81	17	8	8	11
Neighborhood	78	85	89	81	9	5	0	6
Community services	76	89	94	87	4	2	0	0

By chi-square tests (2×4 tables) $P < 0.05$ for health, farm and farming, and social-recreational; $P > 0.05$ for all others.

*Adjustment scores of 4 and 5

†Adjustment scores of 1 and 2.

Among the families satisfied with their ways of life (all aspects) were—

82 per cent of the 33 Lutherans
 79 per cent of the 43 Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers
 75 per cent of the 134 unclassified Protestants
 74 per cent of the 39 Catholics
 66 per cent of the 91 Methodists
 63 per cent of the 161 nonmembers
 56 per cent of the 25 Presbyterians
 Median adjustment scores: 4.3, 4.2, 4.0, 4.0, 3.8, 3.8, 3.7

Among the families satisfied with their home and family lives were—

80 per cent of the Lutherans
 80 per cent of the Methodists
 79 per cent of the unclassified Protestants
 72 per cent of the Catholics
 68 per cent of the Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers
 64 per cent of the nonmembers
 35 per cent of the Presbyterians
 Median adjustment scores: 4.6, 4.3, 4.8, 4.1, 4.4, 3.9, 3.1

Among the families satisfied with their social-recreational lives were—

93 per cent of the Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers
 87 per cent of the Catholics
 85 per cent of the Lutherans
 84 per cent of the unclassified Protestants
 77 per cent of the nonmembers
 71 per cent of the Presbyterians
 70 per cent of the Methodists
 Median adjustment scores: 5.0, 4.9, 4.7, 4.7, 4.6, 4.1, 4.6

URBAN EXPERIENCE

People who had never lived in a town or city of 2,500 or more were better adjusted than those who had experienced life in a city. Compared with lifelong residents of the country, migrants from cities were especially lacking in satisfaction with the farm and farming; also with their living conditions, their

social-recreational lives, their neighborhoods, and their community services. With respect to health adjustment and satisfaction with home and family, however, the migrants from urban areas differed little from those who had always lived in the country (table 11).

TABLE 11.—Per cent of families with and without urban experience who were satisfied and dissatisfied with aspects of living

Aspect of living	Per cent satisfied*		Per cent dissatisfied†	
	With‡ urban experience	Without urban experience	With urban experience	Without urban experience
All aspects	64	80	18	5
Health	73	76	6	9
Living conditions	53	72	18	6
Farm and farming	70	91	11	1
Home and family	72	74	7	6
Social-recreational	74	88	15	5
Neighborhood	80	93	7	3
Community services.....	80	93	2	1

By chi-square tests (2×2 tables) $P < 0.01$ for "all aspects" and each particular aspect listed except health, and home and family.

*Adjustment scores of 4 and 5.

†Adjustment scores of 1 and 2.

‡Either head or wife had lived in a city or town of 2,500 or more population.

PERSONALITY FACTORS

The farmer's degree of satisfaction with his total situation depends to a considerable extent upon the type of person he is. The persons interviewed were classified according to an intelligence rating and according to the goals or objectives they were seeking to attain.¹² It was found that those above the average level of intelligence were satisfied in proportions nearly three times as large as those rated below average in intelligence. Since intelligence refers to problem-solving ability, it is to be expected that the most capable persons would attain the most satisfactory modes of living.

Among all persons satisfied with their total situations were—

- 30 per cent of those of below average intelligence
- 70 per cent of those of average intelligence
- 88 per cent of those of above average intelligence
- Median adjustment scores: 2.9, 3.9, 4.3

When the persons interviewed were classified according to their goals in life, it was found that the scientific commercial farmers were best adjusted to their total ways of living. These persons expressed as their aims "to farm as scientifically as possible," "to better themselves educationally," and "to gain for themselves increased leisure and recreational activities." Least well adjusted were the malcontents who wished to escape from the farm and from farming, the social climbers whose ambitions were to emulate their betters, the drifters without well-defined goals or aims, and those who wished to get all they could for nothing.

¹²Intelligence was rated by checking a scale immediately following the interview. Other factors were rated by checking prepared statements. It is recognized that these ratings are subjective.

Median scores of total adjustment of families with specified goals were—*

- 4.6—To farm as scientifically as possible
- 4.3—To better themselves educationally, etc.
- 4.3—To increase leisure and recreation (27 families)
- 4.2—To get along with neighbors and friends
- 4.1—To improve the farm and increase production
- 4.1—To educate children
- 4.0—To provide economic security for later life
- 3.9—To provide greater consumption of particular goods
- 3.9—To rear a large family (19 families)
- 3.8—To get out of debt
- 3.5—Family has no well-defined aims or goals
- 3.2—To maintain a minimum given level of living
- 2.9—To raise level of living to that of friends, etc.
- 2.7—To farm temporarily until other work is available (16 families)
- 2.6—To move to city (14 families)
- 2.6—To get all they can for nothing (21 families)

*Unless otherwise indicated, each median was computed upon the base of 30 or more families.

The personality factors mentioned do not indicate the relationship of satisfaction to temperament except as the latter is reflected by intelligence or goals. Although it was impossible to administer standardized psychological tests, crude ratings of the personal characteristics of the heads of families and their wives were made by the interviewer. No significant differences in adjustment scores were found between persons rated as extroverted or introverted, as dominant or submissive, as aggressive or retiring, or as self-sufficient or dependent.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The "greatest good for the greatest number" is an ideal widely accepted among American people. It has been assumed that the way to reach that goal is through a continuing rise in the material scale of living. The "greatest good" has little meaning, however, except in terms of the contentment and satisfaction in living experienced by the people themselves, and whether these are increased by a rising average level of living is an open question. Do greater happiness and more complete adjustment result from an increase in the consumption of material goods? How well adjusted are adult farm people to various levels of living? Are certain classes of goods and services more important in improving social adjustment than others? If so, what kinds? To answer these and related questions is the major purpose of this section.

For purposes of studying the relationship between levels of living and social adjustment, families were divided into three groups. These comprised a comparatively well-to-do class of families representing the highest one-fourth on the scale of living, a disadvantaged class representing the lowest one-fifth on the scale, and the largest group of middle-class families. Within each of these three groups the proportions of persons satisfied and dissatisfied with their ways of living were determined. The way of life both in its entirety and in its several aspects was considered for the families in these socioeconomic classes.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO TOTAL SITUATION

The proportion of persons satisfied with their ways of life, "everything considered," bears a direct relationship to the place those persons occupy on the scale of living devised for the present investigation. Of those families comprising the upper one-fourth, or the well-to-do class, 84 per cent were satisfied as compared with only 41 per cent of the lower-class families and 76 per cent of those comprising the middle class as defined for present purposes. The percentage expressing complete satisfaction was more than three times as great among the highest- as among the lowest-class families and was more than twice as great among the highest- as among the middle-class families. Among those with a low level of living, about one of every eight was entirely dissatisfied, and one of every three was dissatisfied to a greater or lesser degree. On the other hand, among those in the highest level-of-living class, no one expressed complete dissatisfaction, and only 1 in 50 expressed even slight dissatisfaction. Of the middle class, only 1 in 12 was dissatisfied (table 12).

TABLE 12.—Total adjustment and level of living

Adjustment score*	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	298	61	166	71
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied) . . .	3	12	1	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	9	21	7	2
3 (equal)	18	26	16	14
4 (mostly satisfied)	46	28	56	39
5 (entirely satisfied)	24	13	20	45
Median score	3.9	3.2	4.0	4.4

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

*Average of head and wife.

These findings indicate a highly significant relationship between level of living and total adjustment. Statistical tests provide assurance that this relationship is characteristic among Ohio farm people in general, as well as among those included in the sample. A high level of living does not guarantee contentment nor a low level of living its opposite; nevertheless, the chances of a completely satisfactory life are probably from three to four times greater for those near the top of the scale of living than for those near the bottom.

In order to analyze further the relationship between social adjustment and social-economic class, the items which entered into the construction of the level-of-living index were arranged into six groups. From each of these groups of items a specific index of level of living was constructed.¹³ These indices were designed to measure levels of education, communication, economic security, housing, sanitation and safety, and possession of electrical conveniences. Although these specific indices of level of living were closely related to each other and to the general index, they were not so closely intercorrelated as to array families in the same order on the several specific scales of living. As was done in the case of the general index of level of living, the one-fourth of the families having the highest scores and the one-fifth having the lowest scores on

¹³See footnote 8 and section entitled "Level of Living."

each of the specific scales of living were segregated from those having intermediate scores. The comparative social adjustment of upper, lower, and middle classes was then studied in each of the six classifications.

Regardless of the index used for classifying their families into level-of-living groups, the relative number of satisfied persons increased with each successive step from lowest to middle and from middle to highest level-of-living class. The converse was true regarding dissatisfied persons, the relative number of which decreased with each successive step up the scale of living regardless of the index used as the basis of classification. When, for example, families were classified on the basis of the specific index of housing, it was found that the proportion satisfied was twice as great among those in the highest as among those in the lowest class, whereas the proportion dissatisfied was about 10 times greater among those in the lowest than among those in the highest class. Similar class differences in social adjustment were observed in connection with each of the other five specific indices used for classifying families into level-of-living groups (table 13).

TABLE 13.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with their situations* by specific level-of-living classes

Specific level-of-living factor	Per cent satisfied			Per cent dissatisfied		
	Lowest class†	Middle class‡	Highest class§	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class
Total level of living	41	76	84	33	8	2
Education	41	76	83	28	10	4
Communication	52	72	82	25	11	3
Economic security	46	72	87	28	10	2
Housing	46	72	90	31	8	3
Sanitation and safety	49	75	78	31	9	2
Electrical conveniences	47	74	82	35	7	3

*All aspects of living or total adjustment.

†The 61 families having the lowest scores on a specific factor.

‡The 167 families with scores of middle values on a specific factor.

§The 71 families having the highest scores on a specific factor.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF LIVING

Highest- and middle-class families were much better adjusted than were those comprising the lowest class, not only to their total situations, but also to the several aspects investigated. Measured in terms of ratings on scales of satisfaction, upper-class families were in general better adjusted than those comprising the middle class. In some respects, however, the middle-class families were somewhat better adjusted than were those in the upper fourth on the scale of living.

The results of this study suggest that a movement up the scale of living from a very low to an intermediate level is accompanied by a great increase in satisfaction, but that a movement from an intermediate to a higher level makes only a moderate contribution to satisfactory living. At the time the present study was made, the families assigned to lowest and middle levels on the scale of living were much farther apart with respect to the proportions satisfied than were the middle and highest classes. It was found, for example, that the average proportion of families satisfied with seven particular aspects of living was 61, 80, and 87 per cent, respectively, for the lower, middle, and upper classes.

The average difference between the lower and middle classes in proportions satisfied was, therefore, 2.7 times greater than was that between the upper and middle classes.

Differences in adjustment between the highest one-fourth and the lowest one-fifth on the scale of living were greatest in living conditions, community services, social-recreational life, and health. The differences between these extreme classes were least with respect to the percentages satisfied with their farms and farming, with their homes and families, and with their neighborhoods. With all these aspects, however, the highest-class families were satisfied in proportions from 1.1 to 2.3 times greater than were those families at the lowest end of the scale of living. With their health, their farms and farming, and with their neighborhoods, middle-class families were somewhat better satisfied than were those in the highest class. In all respects, middle-class families were satisfied in larger proportions than were those in the lowest class (table 14).

TABLE 14.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with aspects of living by level of living

Aspect of living	Per cent satisfied*			Per cent dissatisfied†		
	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class
Living conditions	38	61	90	38	8	1
Community services	67	91	99	5	1	0
Social-recreational	69	81	93	16	3	4
Health	53	82	76	16	5	6
Farm and farming	62	88	79	10	5	6
Home and family	64	70	76	14	7	4
Neighborhood	75	88	84	7	5	3

*Adjustment scores of 4 and 5.

†Adjustment scores of 1 and 2.

In each of the three level-of-living classes as here defined, the families were better satisfied with some aspects of their living than with others. The lower-class families were most satisfied with their neighborhoods, their social-recreational lives, and their community services. They were least satisfied with their living conditions and their health. The middle-class families were satisfied in the largest proportions with their community services, their farms and farming, and their neighborhoods; in smallest proportions with their living conditions and their home and family lives. The upper-class families were satisfied in the largest proportions with their community services, their social-recreational lives, and their living conditions. They were least satisfied with their home and family life, their health, their farms and farming.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO LIVING CONDITIONS

The widest differences in social adjustment found among the three level-of-living classes defined by the present study were discovered in adjustment to living conditions, including household conveniences and other material conditions of home life.¹⁴ Not all families with a low level of living were dissatisfied, nor were all upper-class families entirely satisfied with their living condi-

¹⁴It is likely that farm people stating their degree of satisfaction with this category of items did not have in mind exactly the same items that were included in the index of level of living, but the items are roughly comparable. This category of adjustment more nearly covers level of living than does any other.

tions. Whereas no upper-class family was completely dissatisfied and only 1 out of 71 was mostly dissatisfied, 38 per cent of the lower-class families were dissatisfied, and half of these were rated as entirely dissatisfied. In spite of their poor living conditions, 10 per cent of the lowest class families were entirely satisfied with their conditions. The same proportion (10 per cent) of middle-class families was entirely satisfied, but the proportion of entirely satisfied families was almost six times greater (59 per cent) among those in the highest class (table 15).

TABLE 15.—Adjustment to living conditions by level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families	299	61	167	71
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	5	20	2	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	8	18	6	1
3 (equal)	24	24	31	9
4 (mostly satisfied)	42	28	51	31
5 (entirely satisfied)	21	10	10	59
Median score	3.8	3.0	3.7	4.7

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

Because it was believed that satisfaction with what one has is largely dependent upon how favorably his belongings compare with possessions of friends, relatives, and neighbors, a special study was made of such comparisons. Each person interviewed was asked to state whether his acquaintances had better, poorer, or about the same quality living conditions. It was found that persons living at a relatively low level generally believed that their friends, relatives, and neighbors had better living conditions than themselves and that persons living at a relatively high level believed the opposite about their associates. The degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with living conditions was not entirely a result of favorable or unfavorable comparisons with others, however, for when these comparisons were taken into account, level of living and social adjustment were still significantly related.¹⁵

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO COMMUNITY SERVICES

Ohio farm families expressed greater satisfaction with their community services and institutions than with other aspects of their life. Some services and institutions were objects of more complaints than others, however, and in general those families with low levels of living were less satisfied than those with higher levels. Greatest satisfaction was expressed with buying facilities and with recreational facilities; most complaints were made with local government and selling facilities. With all types of community services, families at low levels of living were dissatisfied to a greater extent than were those with higher levels of living (table 16).

¹⁵The relationship was tested by the chi-square method in 2×2 contingency tables holding constant the following factors: comparative living conditions of neighbors, of friends, of siblings. In every case the relationship was so great that it would occur by chance less than 1 time in 100. The interpretation can, therefore, be extended from the sample to the State with reasonable confidence.

TABLE 16.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with community services by level of living

Type of service	Per cent satisfied*				Per cent dissatisfied†			
	Total	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class	Total	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class
Local government.....	73	52	73	81	10	29	8	4
Selling.....	75	55	75	82	11	18	11	9
Medical.....	88	65	92	96	8	21	8	1
Church.....	84	69	83	92	9	26	5	5
Educational.....	85	73	78	94	8	20	10	3
Recreational.....	92	80	87	98	4	9	8	1
Buying.....	97	92	98	99	1	3	1	0

*Adjustment scores of 4 and 5.

†Adjustment scores of 1 and 2.

When a general index of adjustment to community services was constructed, it was found that 9 of every 10 families were satisfied and that 6 of every 10 were completely satisfied. The level-of-living classes differed widely with respect to degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with community services. Although the upper-class families were only slightly better satisfied than were the middle-class families, the average (median) adjustment score was smaller by almost an entire unit for those comprising the lower class, and the percentage expressing entire satisfaction with community services was only a little more than one-third of that observed among the upper- and middle-class families (table 17).

TABLE 17.—Adjustment to community services by level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	299	61	167	71
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied).....	1	3	0	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied).....	1	2	1	0
3 (equal).....	11	28	8	1
4 (mostly satisfied).....	29	43	25	30
5 (entirely satisfied).....	58	24	66	69
Median score.....	4.6	3.9	4.7	4.8

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO SOCIAL-RECREATIONAL LIFE

About 8 out of 10 of the Ohio farm families studied were satisfied with their social and recreational lives, and 6 out of 10 were entirely satisfied with this aspect of their living. Even families having a low level of living were found to be largely contented with their social-recreational activities. In this respect there were, nevertheless, much larger proportions of well-adjusted families in the middle than in the lowest class, and still larger proportions in the highest than in the middle class (table 18).

TABLE 18.—Social-recreational adjustment and level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	299	61	167	71
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied).....	3	10	1	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied).....	6	6	7	4
3 (equal).....	10	15	11	3
4 (mostly satisfied).....	19	18	20	17
5 (entirely satisfied).....	62	51	61	76
Median score.....	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.8

Although the median adjustment scores are very nearly alike in the three groups, a test of the entire table shows the concomitant increase of satisfaction with level of living to be significant. By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO HEALTH OF FAMILY MEMBERS

Greatest dissatisfaction with the health of the family members was found where level of living was lowest. About 16 per cent of the lowest-class families were entirely or mostly dissatisfied with their health situations as compared with only 5 or 6 per cent of the highest- and middle-class families (table 19). This observation was to be expected, since families with less income and poorer living conditions are known to have a higher incidence of disease and malnutrition than those who live in more favorable circumstances.¹⁵

TABLE 19.—Health adjustment and level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	298	61	166	71
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied).....	3	5	2	3
2 (mostly dissatisfied).....	4	11	3	3
3 (equal).....	18	31	13	13
4 (mostly satisfied).....	39	30	46	30
5 (entirely satisfied).....	36	23	36	46
Median score.....	4.1	3.5	4.2	4.4

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

Middle-class families were much better adjusted to their health situation than were those comprising the lowest class, and the indications were that they were about as well adjusted as were those assigned to the highest class. The average (median) health adjustment score of 4.2 for the middle class was considerably higher than that for the class below (3.5) but was only slightly lower than that for the class above (4.4). Measured in terms of the percentage rated as entirely or mostly satisfied, however, the maximum health adjustment was found among the middle-class farm families. Although the percentage of

¹⁵Level of living is defined partly in terms of health conditions. Three of the fifty-nine items entering into the level-of-living index used in this study are health items, but these received less weight than three-fourths of the items, and their exclusion from the index for testing the relation of health adjustment and level of living would not alter the tests of significance.

families rated as entirely satisfied with their health situations increased consistently from 23 per cent in the lower class to 46 per cent in the upper class, the percentage rated as mostly satisfied was highest in the middle group and was equal among the families representing the extreme level-of-living classes (table 19).

Health adjustment was found to be better in families which had not spent large sums for medical purposes. There was a consistent decrease in adjustment as the amount expended increased.¹⁷ The number of days of work missed by adult members of the family on account of sickness¹⁸ and the number of days of school missed by children¹⁹ were both similarly related to health adjustment.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO FARM AND FARMING

Three separate ratings were made to get a score of adjustment to farm and farming: satisfaction with the present farm plant, with farming as a means of earning a living, and with farming as a way of life. Of these, the first was more closely related to level of living than any other, for increasing proportions of farmers in the lowest, middle, and highest levels were satisfied with their farms.

Among the families satisfied with their present farms were—

44 per cent of the lowest class
68 per cent of the middle class
75 per cent of the highest class

Among the families entirely satisfied with their farms were—

32 per cent of the lowest class
46 per cent of the middle class
53 per cent of the highest class

The second rating, satisfaction with farming as a means of making a living, was less directly related to level of living.²⁰ Although a larger proportion of the high-level families than of the middle and low levels was entirely satisfied with farming in this sense, the relationship was reversed when the families mostly satisfied were considered. When both degrees of satisfaction were examined together, there appeared to be little difference between the lowest, middle, and highest levels of living.

Among the families satisfied with farming as a means of livelihood were—

67 per cent of the lowest class
63 per cent of the middle class
63 per cent of the highest class

¹⁷Median adjustment score of families spending \$51 or more for health or medical purposes during the past year was 3.9; \$21-\$50, 4.0; \$6-\$20, 4.2; \$5.00 or less, 4.5.

¹⁸Median adjustment score for 31 days and over was 3.5; for 1-30 days, 4.0; for no days of work missed last year, 4.5.

¹⁹Median adjustment score for 11 days or more of school missed last year, 3.8; for 1-10 days, 4.2; for no days, 4.2.

²⁰In this classification only families which definitely considered farming as either a primary or secondary occupation were included. When all families were included, there was, however, little difference in the relationship of level of living and satisfaction with farming as a livelihood.

Among the families entirely satisfied with farming as a livelihood were—

36 per cent of the lowest class
 44 per cent of the middle class
 49 per cent of the highest class

Satisfaction with farming as a way of life was independent of level of living, for almost as large a proportion of the families living at a low level as of those living in the highest levels was satisfied with farming from this standpoint. More of those in the middle level-of-living class were satisfied than in either of the other levels, for:

Among the families satisfied with farming as a way of life were—

87 per cent of the lowest class
 97 per cent of the middle class
 91 per cent of the highest class

Among the families entirely satisfied with farming as a way of life were—

77 per cent of the lowest class
 89 per cent of the middle class
 77 per cent of the highest class

From the foregoing comparisons it might be inferred that Ohio farm people were pretty largely satisfied with farming as a way of life regardless of the level of living that was made possible by farming as a source of income. Where levels of living were low, the blame was more often attributed to the particular farm upon which a family lived than to farming as an occupation.

Adjustment scores of farm and farming (the composite of the three ratings) were found to increase significantly from lowest to highest level-of-living class. The increase was found to be small (table 20), but statistical tests prove it to be significant.

TABLE 20.—Adjustment to farm and farming by level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families	299	61	167	71
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	2	3	2	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	4	7	3	6
3 (equal)	13	28	7	15
4 (mostly satisfied)	43	41	47	34
5 (entirely satisfied)	38	21	41	45
Median score	4.2	3.8	4.3	4.4

By chi-square test (3 × 3 table) $P < 0.01$.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO HOME AND FAMILY

Class differences in home and family adjustment were comparatively small.²¹ Disproportionately large numbers of persons in the lower-class families were completely dissatisfied with their family relationships, but otherwise the representatives of the lower class were about as well adjusted to their

²¹It must be recognized that full information concerning home and family adjustment was not forthcoming during a single interview. The results of this section should, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

homes and families as were the representatives of the middle class. The upper class fared much better with respect to home and family adjustment, for none in this class were entirely dissatisfied, and 53 per cent were completely satisfied as compared with about 38 per cent of the other two classes (table 21).

TABLE 21.—Home and family adjustment by level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	292	59	163	70
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied).....	3	9	3	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied).....	4	5	4	4
3 (equal).....	22	22	23	20
4 (mostly satisfied).....	29	25	32	23
5 (entirely satisfied).....	42	39	38	53
Median score.....	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.6

By chi-square tests (3×3 table) these differences could occur by chance less than 5 times in 100 and are probably applicable to the State as a whole.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT TO NEIGHBORHOOD

Level-of-living class differences in adjustment of families to the neighborhood in which they lived were smaller than those in all the other particular aspects of living; the proportions satisfied were about the same in the highest and middle classes. A much smaller proportion of completely satisfied families was found among those in the lowest class than in the classes above. Nearly one-half of the lower-class families were, however, entirely satisfied with their neighborhoods and with their neighbors (table 22).

TABLE 22.—Neighborhood adjustment and level of living

Adjustment score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	299	61	167	71
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied).....	1	0	2	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied).....	4	7	3	3
3 (equal).....	11	18	7	13
4 (mostly satisfied).....	21	29	21	15
5 (entirely satisfied).....	63	46	67	69
Median score.....	4.7	4.4	4.8	4.8

By the chi-square (3×3 table) differences as large as those shown in this table would occur by chance only about 2 times in 100. The relationship may probably be interpreted for the State as well as the sample.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT BY GEOGRAPHIC AREAS

The persons interviewed in the three counties included in this study differed widely with respect to their average level of living but were about equally well adjusted in most respects. As shown in figure 1, the average level of living in Washington County was only 74 per cent of the State average, whereas that in Allen County was 3 per cent above, and that in Mahoning County, 17 per cent

above, the State average. In the present study it was found that only 7 per cent of the Washington County families ranked among the highest one-fourth on the level-of-living scale as compared with 23 per cent in Allen and 44 per cent in Mahoning County (fig. 2). In view of these area differences in level of living, it was to be expected that Washington County residents would express the greatest amount of dissatisfaction and Mahoning County residents the least; yet the persons interviewed were about equally well adjusted to their total situations in each of the three counties (table 4). For example, in each of these counties approximately one-fourth of all persons interviewed expressed attitudes of complete satisfaction with their ways of life, and about 7 of every 10 were either completely or largely satisfied. Likewise, in each of the three counties only about one of every eight persons was dissatisfied to a greater or lesser degree. Some differences were found when satisfaction with particular aspects of living was compared (table 5).

That the scores of total adjustment and adjustment to living conditions did not differ markedly from county to county even though there were wide variations in level of living is one of the most important findings of the present study. It is particularly significant because within each of the three counties, it was the families with highest level of living that rated highest on social adjustment, and the lowest classes that were the most poorly adjusted. This observation suggests that beyond a given level of living, it is not only what a person has that produces satisfaction but what he has in comparison with what is possessed by others whose ways of living he observes and whose judgments of him matter. It raises a fundamental question as to whether an increase in the average level of living within a community increases to any appreciable extent the proportions of well-adjusted, satisfied persons living in that community.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Human beings live together in groups. Although individuals can be counted and classified as separate units, many ties bind them together in families, in congenial groups of friendly companions, and in groups formed around common interests in religion, education, politics, better farming, and many others. Human nature in its fullest development is a product of these group associations, and the social needs of personality are met only in real or imagined interaction with others. The present section deals with types and extent of participation in extrafamily group activities engaged in by adult Ohio farm people.

The forms of group life in rural areas are undergoing important changes. The grandparents of the present generation were nurtured in intimate face-to-face associations of the family and neighborhood. In these groups were formed habits, attitudes, and values which gave meaning and direction to life. Outside contacts were few and of a casual nature. Today, under the influence of modern means of communication and transportation, family ties have been weakened, and the neighborhood as a self-sufficing social unit has in many places disappeared. Human need for intimate group association is, however, of lasting duration, and new forms of group life have arisen to take the place of neighborhood participation. In emerging rural communities, association takes place over wider areas, and groups are formed in line with the special interests of the members rather than upon the basis of mere geographical nearness of

persons to each other. Many miles are traveled to attend a hog breeder's meeting, an extension program, a political convention, or a movie; the family life is invaded; and neighborhood associations fade into relative insignificance. The basis of contacts becomes less localized and more particularized.

DEFINITION OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The diverse activities engaged in by individuals with other persons and between persons and groups are known as social participation. Two types of participation can be identified, formal and informal. Formal social participation refers to the part taken in organized groups and includes not only attendance at meetings but also memberships maintained, financial contributions made, committee work done, and offices held. Informal social participation embraces all social life that is not of a formal or organizational nature, such as visiting, attending movies, radio auditing, and others. This type of activity is much less definite, and much less is known of its importance.

EXTENT OF FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Of 556 heads of families and their wives for whom information was available, 23 per cent were not affiliated with any organized group. Thirty-three per cent were members of one such group; 19 per cent were members of two groups; and 25 per cent were in three or more formal organizations. When attendance rather than membership was considered, it was found that 27 per cent of these adults had not attended a single function of an organization during the past year and that an additional 14 per cent had attended less often than once a month. On the other hand, 23 per cent were active participants who attended organizational meetings two or more times per month, and another 28 per cent attended at least once a week. Contributions to organizations during the year were made by about two-thirds of the heads of families and their wives, but less than one-half of these contributors gave as much as \$11. As to committee work and officerships in organizations, only one-fourth of all persons participated.

Of the various types of organizations in which the Ohio farm families participated, the church was most popular. Church groups had a greater percentage of affiliation, more attendance, larger contributions, and more leadership activity than all other organized groups combined. Yet only 69 per cent of the heads of families and their wives belonged to any church group. Of the wives, 75 out of each 100 were members, but only 63 out of each 100 heads were members. Wives belonged to a larger number of church groups than did their husbands. Similarly, only 66 per cent of all persons attended church groups, 71 per cent of the wives and 61 per cent of the heads. Contributions to church groups were made by 62 per cent of all heads and wives, but they were not large. Only 7 per cent of the families gave singly more than \$20 during the year. About 37 per cent gave something, but less than \$10, and another 18 per cent donated from \$11 to \$20. As to leadership activities in church groups, 10 per cent served on committees, and 13 per cent held offices (table 23).

EXTENT OF INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Wide variation was found in the types of informal social activities engaged in by Ohio farm people. No attempt was made to learn of every brand of social life that was to be found, but it was observed that all persons found some way or other to put themselves in contact with other individuals. Most of these

TABLE 23.—Formal social participation of heads of families and wives by type of organizations

Type and extent of participation	Any type*	Church groups	Agricultural extension†	Lodges	Educational groups	Recreational groups	Cooperatives
Affiliations:							
Number of persons‡	556	556	556	556	556	556	556
Per cent of persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No organizations	23	31	78	86	91	95	91
1 organization	33	52	31	10	8	4	7
2 organizations	19	14	1	2	1	1	2
3 or more	25	3	0	2	0	0	0
Attendance:							
Number of persons	551	551	554	556	556	556	556
Per cent of persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No attendance	27	34	82	90	91	95	94
1-5 times	7	6	17	1	2	0	4
6-11 times	7	7	1	3	1	1	0
12-24 times	8	6	0	3	1	2	2
25-51 times	23	32	0	3	1	2	0
52 and over	28	15	0	2	0	0	0
Contributions:							
Number of persons	550	553	556	550	556	552	556
Per cent of persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No contributions	33	38	100	91	100	98	96
1-5 dollars	22	21	0	6	0	2	4
6-10 dollars	14	16	0	2	0	0	0
11-15 dollars	15	15	0	0	0	0	0
16-20 dollars	6	3	0	1	0	0	0
21 dollars and over	10	7	0	0	0	0	0
Committee work:							
Number of persons	556	556	556	556	556	556	556
Per cent of persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No committee work	74	90	97	95	97	99	98
1 committee	16	7	3	2	2	1	1
2 or more	10	3	0	3	1	0	1
Officerships:							
Number of persons	556	556	556	556	556	556	556
Per cent of persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No officership	76	87	99	97	99	100	99
1 office	19	12	1	2	1	0	1
2 or more offices	5	1	0	1	0	0	0

*Includes participation or nonparticipation in any of the groups indicated or in patriotic or civic groups, or other economic or social groups not listed as column headings.

†Includes Farmer's Institutes.

‡Number of heads of families and wives for whom information was available.

associations involved varying degrees of direct person-to-person contacts, but some were largely indirect or imagined. Visiting was one of the most common face-to-face or direct forms, and radio auditing or reading represented the other type, "make-believe" association.

During the year of study
of every 100
heads and wives—

6	visited less than once a month
47	visited once a month but less than once a week
14	visited once a week but less than twice a week
34	visited twice a week or more
14	listened to radio and/or read less than once a day
86	listened to radio and/or read daily
52	did not attend movies
21	attended movies, but less often than once a month
23	attended movies once a month but less than once a week
5	attended movies at least once a week

Persons in the sample who scored highest in formal participation were more active in informal types of social participation, but this statement cannot be generalized to the State as a whole.

MEASURING SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Formal social participation, being more specifically defined than informal social participation, could be measured with greater precision. Reliable information concerning the number of organized groups to which he belonged was obtained for each person (heads and wives). Information was also obtained to show how often he attended meetings, how much he contributed, and how actively he served as a group leader. After this information was provided as accurately as possible, it was summarized into a single index so that each family could be compared with all others and social participation could be related to other factors. To make the five categories (affiliation, attendance, contributions, committee work, and officerships) comparable, they were each converted into standard units, which in turn were combined into a composite formal participation score²² ranging from 3 to 28 (table 24).

TABLE 24.—Formal social participation scores of Ohio farm families

Scores	Total	Non-participants	Occasional participants		Active participants				
		2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-13	14-17	18-21	22-29
Number of families....	293*	85	79	57	30	28	3	8	3
Per cent of families....	100	29	27	20	10	10	1	2	1

*Scores could not be calculated for 6 of the 299 families because of insufficient data.

To facilitate understanding of the formal-social-participation index, descriptive terms were given to the highest, lowest, and intermediate scores. The 85 families scoring lower than 4.0 were called "nonparticipants." Actually, a few persons in this class belonged to social organizations and perhaps attended two or three meetings a year or contributed a very small amount to an organization. The activity engaged in by nonparticipants was, however, negligible, and for all practical purposes the term is not a misnomer. At the other extreme were 72 families scoring 8 or more which were called "active participants." The heads and wives of families in this classification usually belonged to three or more organizations each, attended functions more often than once a week, contributed more than 1 dollar a month, and one or the other or both of them were generally an officer or a member of a committee. The class having scores between 4.0 and 7.9 included 136 families and was designated "occasional participants." The amount of activity engaged in by the heads and wives of these families varied considerably. Some attended a large number of meetings but contributed little; others seldom attended but contributed much. The usual (median) degree of participation for each of the spouses (the head and wife)

²²Expressed briefly, this method involved calculation of an average for each category, subtraction of each family score from this average, and finally division of the difference by a standard measure. Since the data were extremely J-shaped with a large preponderance of the events in the zero intervals, it was impossible to use either standard-deviation or quartile-deviation units. A variation of quartile-deviation units was finally adopted. The interval 2.0-3.9 was chosen because the bulk of the cases could be represented by the mid-point of that interval.

was about one to two affiliations, attendance from two to three times a month, contributions from 50 cents to 1 dollar a month and no committee service or officership.

Informal social participation is more difficult to measure, because the types of activity are so heterogeneous and elusive. The data provided by the present study were not considered adequate for the construction of an index of informal participation.

TABLE 25.—Formal social participation by county

Participation score	Total	Washington	Allen	Mahoning
Number of families.....	293	110	93	90
Per cent of families.....	100	100	100	100
2-3 (nonparticipants).....	29	42	19	23
4-5 (occasional).....	27	26	27	28
6-7 (occasional).....	20	10	27	23
8-9 (active).....	10	7	13	11
10-13 (active).....	10	12	6	10
14 and over (active).....	4	3	8	5
Median score.....	5.6	4.6	6.3	5.9

By chi-square test (2×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

Washington County families were found to rank lowest among the three counties not only in level of living but also in formal social participation. The ranks of the other two counties, however, were unlike the level-of-living comparisons; Allen County farmers had higher scores of participation than did those of Mahoning County. Median scores of the three counties were 4.6, 6.3, and 5.9, respectively (table 25).

AGE OF FAMILY HEAD

It was mature adults who took the most active part in community organizations. Aged people were less active than those slightly younger, and the young adults participated less than did those slightly their seniors. There was a steady increase with age until about the sixth decade, after which an accelerating decrease was observed. The change in social activity was not abrupt at any age, but the apparent cycle for adults was from inactivity during the first few years of married adulthood to a growing participation as long as health permitted. Maximum activity was observed for people of more than 45 and less than 65; those between 45 and 54 were the more active of the two 10-year periods. Third in rank of social participation were the persons between the ages 35-44, and next in order were those 65-74. This age cycle from inactivity through wide participation and back to inactivity is indicated in the following distribution of participation scores:

Among the nonparticipants were—

40 per cent of the 43 heads of families age 20-34
 31 per cent of the 51 heads of families age 35-44
 16 per cent of the 75 heads of families age 45-54
 22 per cent of the 78 heads of families age 55-64
 39 per cent of the 31 heads of families age 65-74
 75 per cent of the 12 heads of families age 75 and over

Among the extremely active participants (score 10 or more) were—

- 11 per cent of the 43 heads of families age 20-34
 - 18 per cent of the 51 heads of families age 35-44
 - 19 per cent of the 75 heads of families age 45-54
 - 13 per cent of the 78 heads of families age 55-64
 - 13 per cent of the 31 heads of families age 65-74
 - 0 per cent of the 12 heads of families age 75 and over
- Median participation scores: 4.9, 5.5, 6.2, 6.9, 4.9, 3.5

TYPE OF FAMILY

Adults of the largest families participated least in organized groups, but those of very small families took less part than did those of medium-sized families. Greatest participation was in the families composed of five or six persons.

Among the active participants were—

- 13 per cent of the households composed of 1 or 2 persons
 - 29 per cent of the households composed of 3 or 4 persons
 - 33 per cent of the households composed of 5 or 6 persons
 - 10 per cent of the households composed of 7 or more persons
- Median participation scores: 4.7, 5.7, 6.9, 3.9

The husbands and wives of unbroken families were more active in organized groups than were the heads of broken families. Furthermore, those having children were more frequently participants than were those without children.

Among the active participants were—

- 29 per cent of the unbroken families with children
 - 22 per cent of the unbroken families without children
 - 11 per cent of the broken or nonfamily groups
- Median participation scores: 5.8, 5.3, 4.7

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

Owners of farms were more active participants in community organizations than were tenants. Differences also appeared between owners who had their places mortgaged and those who did not. The farmers without mortgages had lower average participation scores than those with their places mortgaged. There was, however, wide variation in the formal participation of owners whose farms were mortgaged. A large proportion of these took no part in community organizations, and some took a very active part.

Among the active participants were—

- 28 per cent of all farm owners
 - 31 per cent of owners without mortgages
 - 26 per cent of owners with mortgages
 - 15 per cent of all tenants
 - 22 per cent of all other occupational groups
- Median participation scores: 6.2, 5.7, 6.2, 5.1, 3.6

When the major or primary source of income was the criterion of comparison, formal social participation was highest for white-collar workers—professional and semiprofessional people, proprietors, clerical workers, and salesmen.

Although there were only 22 families which fell into this classification, the difference in scores is large enough to appear significant. The occupational variations are obvious in the following facts:

Among the active participants were—

41 per cent of the	22 white-collar workers
30 per cent of the	137 farm owners
25 per cent of the	49 skilled and semiskilled workers
19 per cent of the	27 farm tenants
14 per cent of the	22 laborers (exclusive of WPA)
3 per cent of the	35 WPA workers and pensioners
Median participation scores: 7.3, 6.3, 5.7, 5.9, 3.9, 3.6	

When in the place of primary occupation, the secondary source of income, earnings from part-time work, was considered, the white-collar group was still at the top as to social participation. Next in importance was the group which had no secondary occupation but which earned all its living from one type of work.

Among the active participants were—

39 per cent of	26 with secondary income white-collar work
28 per cent of	133 with no secondary source of income
23 per cent of	74 with secondary income from farm ownership
18 per cent of	17 with income from skilled and semiskilled work
13 per cent of	23 with income from rented farm land
6 per cent of	18 families with income from miscellaneous labor
Median participation scores: 6.5, 6.1, 5.4, 4.4, 4.3, 5.1	

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT²³

Persons who had attended but had not completed high school were more active participants in community organizations than were those with more or less formal education. Least active were those who had not completed 8 grades in school. Persons who finished high school were less active than those with partial high school training but were more active than those who had never attended high school.

Among the active participants were—

10 per cent of those with	less than eighth grade schooling
25 per cent of those with	eighth grade schooling
36 per cent of those with	from 1 to 3 years of high school training
28 per cent of those with	at least 4 years of high school training
Median participation scores: 4.4, 5.8, 6.4, 5.9	

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Wide differences in the extent of social participation of members of various religious denominations were observed. Most active of all persons were the Mennonites and Dunkards; Methodists and Lutherans were next in rank. Still less active were the members of a number of other Protestant denominations which were grouped together because of the small number of representatives of

²³Average schooling of head of family and wife.

each in the sample. Catholics, according to the participation scores, took less part in social groups than did any other denominational groups tested. This difference is partially accounted for in the fact that the scores give considerable weight to the holding of offices or serving on committees, functions which are more common in Protestant churches. It is also likely that Catholic organizations are more nearly self-sufficient and that members do not so readily become "joiners" of many groups.

Among the active participants were—

52 per cent of the 21 Mennonites and Dunkards
 43 per cent of the 40 Methodists
 42 per cent of the 19 Lutherans
 27 per cent of the 68 other Protestant churches
 10 per cent of the 21 Catholics
 Median participation scores: 7.9, 7.3, 7.0, 6.1, 6.5

Since participation in church groups was more common than in any other type of organization, it is understandable that church members had higher participation scores than did nonmembers. Average (median) scores were 6.8 and 3.6, respectively.

PERSONALITY FACTORS

The most intelligent persons were found to take greatest part in social groups. Only rarely were persons with less than average intelligence found among the very active participants, and those rated above average were active participants in proportions almost twice as great as those rated average.

Among the active participants were—

4 per cent of the 27 with intelligence ratings below average
 23 per cent of the 201 with intelligence ratings of average
 43 per cent of the 47 with intelligence ratings above average
 Median participation scores: 3.6, 5.5, 7.1

In another rating, an attempt was made to ascertain family goals and to show their relationship to activity in social organizations. Wide differences were found for families rated as having various goals.

Median participation scores for families with specified goals were—

5.6 for all families rated
 9.3 for the 36 families aiming to farm as scientifically as possible
 8.4 for the 60 families aiming to better themselves educationally
 6.1 for the 226 families aiming to provide economic security
 5.9 for the 84 families aiming to get out of debt
 3.1 for the 21 families aiming to get all they can for nothing

Personality traits, such as extroverted or introverted, aggressive or retiring, and self-sufficient or dependent, were not related to formal social participation. It cannot be concluded from the data at hand that social participation is entirely unrelated to temperament, however, for there are other traits for which no information was available.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

So universal is the desire for group life that one's happiness or contentment is largely dependent upon the nature of his social relationships with other people. The range of possible contacts in which a person may engage extends from intimate face-to-face association with members of the family group to impersonal touch-and-go acquaintances in highly specialized organizations. Some individuals find satisfaction for most of their social needs through participation in the family and in neighborhood groups, but the scope of social activity is increasingly reaching into special interest and more formalized groups. Whether participation in one type of group better satisfies human needs than participation in others is not definitely known, but it is recognized that the kind of association that a person desires is largely determined by the culture in which he lives, by the habits and values defined by his society. It is the purpose of the present section to show the way in which satisfaction or social adjustment is related to social participation. A basic question is whether people who take active part in community organizations are better adjusted than those who do not.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO TOTAL SITUATION

The only persons who expressed complete dissatisfaction with their ways of life, "everything considered," were nonparticipants in organized community groups. On the other hand, those persons who participated most were most frequently satisfied. Although about 1 out of 10 nonparticipants was entirely dissatisfied with his total situation, none of the occasional or active participants was so completely disgruntled. Moderate dissatisfaction was expressed by 19 per cent of the nonparticipants, 7 per cent of the occasional participants, and only 1 per cent of the active persons. Conversely, 86 per cent of the active participants were satisfied with their ways of life in general, whereas only 52 per cent of the nonparticipants were satisfied (table 26).

TABLE 26.—Total adjustment and formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non-participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	292	85	136	71
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	9	0	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	9	19	7	1
3 (equal)	18	20	19	13
4 (mostly satisfied)	45	38	50	47
5 (entirely satisfied)	25	14	24	39
Median score	4.0	3.6	4.0	4.3

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

Families which were affiliated with no organized group or with only one such group were less well adjusted than were those affiliated with two or more groups. Regularity of attendance at group meetings was a factor of even greater importance than affiliation, for although only 56 per cent of the non-attendants were satisfied with their total situation, the proportion satisfied ranged up to 90 per cent for the weekly attendants. Contributors to organized

groups were better adjusted than were noncontributors or less liberal contributors, and those who assumed leadership roles in organizations were better adjusted than those who did not.

Among families satisfied with their total situations were—

63 per cent of those who belonged to no organized groups
 61 per cent of those who belonged to one group
 82 per cent of those who belonged to two groups
 84 per cent of those who belonged to three or more groups
 Median adjustment scores: 3.8, 3.8, 4.1, 4.2

56 per cent of those who attended functions less than once a year
 66 per cent of those who attended once a year to once a month*
 73 per cent of those who attended once a month to once a week†
 90 per cent of those who attended more often than once a week
 Median adjustment scores: 3.6, 3.9, 3.9, 4.4

*1-12 times a year.

†13-52 times a year.

53 per cent of those who contributed less than \$1.00
 71 per cent of those who contributed between \$1.00 and \$10.99
 88 per cent of those who contributed \$11 or more
 Median adjustment scores: 3.6, 3.9, 4.3

65 per cent of those in which neither head nor wife
 held an office or was on a committee
 81 per cent of those in which either head or wife
 held an office or was on a committee
 Median adjustment scores: 3.8, 4.1

**SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO PARTICULAR
ASPECTS OF LIVING**

Participants in community organizations were better adjusted than were nonparticipants, not only with respect to their total situations, but also to the several aspects investigated. Measured in terms of ratings on scales of satisfaction, active participants were better adjusted than either occasional participants or nonparticipants, but the occasional participants were more nearly like the active participants than like the nonparticipants with respect to adjustment. The comparative percentages of families satisfied with their total situations were 52, 74, and 86 for the nonparticipants, the occasional participants, and the active participants, respectively. Although the difference between the first two classes was 22 per cent, it was only 12 per cent between the occasional and active participants. When the comparison was made for average percentage of families satisfied with seven particular aspects of living, the occasional participants resembled the active participants even more than in adjustment to the total situation. The average percentages satisfied for the three classes were 66, 80, and 86, respectively; the difference was 2.3 times as great between the nonparticipants and occasional participants as between the occasional and active participants.

Nonparticipants and active participants differed most widely in the percentage of families satisfied with the total situation, with living conditions, and with home and family; they differed least in satisfaction with social-recreational life and with neighborhood (table 27).

TABLE 27.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with aspects of living by social participation

Aspect of living	Per cent satisfied*			Per cent dissatisfied		
	Nonparticipants	Occasional participants	Active participants	Nonparticipants	Occasional participants	Active participants
All aspects	52	74	86	28	7	1
Health	64	78	83	13	6	1
Living conditions	51	65	76	21	11	7
Home and family	58	73	82	14	5	4
Farm and farming	66	85	86	8	6	6
Social-recreational	75	82	86	14	8	6
Neighborhood	76	86	92	6	6	1
Community services	73	92	96	3	1	0

*Score of 4 and 5.

†Score of 1 and 2.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO HEALTH OF FAMILY MEMBERS

Persons who took most active parts in community organizations were most frequently satisfied with the health of the members of their families. It is not meant to say, however, that going to a lot of meetings or belonging to many organizations made persons happier with their health. It is likely that those persons who expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with their health were lacking in the physical requirements for active participation in community groups, whereas those who expressed the greatest satisfaction with health were physically capable of active participation. A definite increase in adjustment was found, however, where there was greater participation (table 28). Although 13 per cent of the nonparticipants were dissatisfied with their health, only 6 per cent of the occasional participants and 1 per cent of the active participants were dissatisfied. Conversely, 64 per cent of the nonparticipants were satisfied with their health as compared with 78 per cent of the occasional and 83 per cent of the active participants.

TABLE 28.—Health adjustment and formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Nonparticipants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	292	85	136	71
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	6	2	1
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	4	7	4	0
3 (equal)	18	23	16	16
4 (mostly satisfied)	39	33	44	37
5 (entirely satisfied)	36	31	34	46
Median score	4.2	3.9	4.1	4.4

By chi-square test (3 × 3 table) $P < 0.01$.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO LIVING CONDITIONS

Although only one-half of the families classed as nonparticipants in community organizations were satisfied with the living conditions in their homes, more than three-fourths of those who were active participants were satisfied.

Conversely, 21 per cent of the nonparticipants, but only 7 per cent of the active participants, were dissatisfied with the conveniences and the housing conditions that they had (table 29).

TABLE 29.—Adjustment to living conditions by formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Nonpartici- pants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	293	85	136	72
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	5	9	5	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	8	12	6	7
3 (equal)	24	28	24	17
4 (mostly satisfied)	41	37	45	42
5 (entirely satisfied)	22	14	20	34
Median score	3.8	3.5	3.8	4.1

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO HOME AND FAMILY

Families that took an active part in social organizations were much better satisfied with their home situations and their family lives than were those who did not participate in these groups. Only 58 per cent of the nonparticipants were contented with this aspect of their ways of life as compared with 82 per cent of the active participants. Of the occasional participants, 73 per cent were satisfied (table 30). Since the most common kind of formal participation was church attendance, a test was made to determine the separate effect of this type of activity upon adjustment to the home and family. In about the same manner as for all forms of social participation, the more frequent the attendance, the better the adjustment.

Among all families satisfied with their home and family lives were—

- 67 per cent of those who had not attended church in the last year
- 71 per cent of those who attended once a year to once a month*
- 78 per cent of those who attended once a month to once a week†
- 82 per cent of those who attended more often than once a week

Median adjustment scores: 4.2, 4.3, 4.3, 4.7

*1-12 times a year.

†13-52 times a year.

TABLE 30.—Home and family adjustment and formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non- participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	286	83	134	69
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	6	2	1
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	4	8	3	3
3 (equal)	22	28	22	14
4 (mostly satisfied)	28	21	36	22
5 (entirely satisfied)	43	37	37	60
Median scores	4.2	3.9	4.1	4.6

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO FARM
AND FARMING

None of the active participants in organized social groups were entirely dissatisfied with farming or with their farms, but there were 4 per cent of the nonparticipants who were thoroughly dissatisfied with this major aspect of their living. On the other hand, 86 per cent of the very active group and 66 per cent of the inactive group expressed satisfaction with this aspect of their ways of life (table 31).

TABLE 31.—Adjustment to farm and farming by formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non- participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	293	85	136	72
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	2	4	2	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	4	4	4	6
3 (equal)	14	26	9	8
4 (mostly satisfied)	42	42	43	39
5 (entirely satisfied)	38	24	42	47
Median score	4.2	3.9	4.3	4.4

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO
SOCIAL-RECREATIONAL LIFE

Although no highly active participants in organized groups were entirely dissatisfied with their social-recreational lives in community organizations, 8 per cent of the nonparticipants were dissatisfied to this extreme. Approximately 75 per cent of the nonparticipants as compared with 86 per cent of the very active and 82 per cent of the occasional participants were satisfied with all phases of their social and recreational lives (table 32).²⁴

TABLE 32.—Social-recreational adjustment and formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non- participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	293	85	136	72
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	8	1	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	6	6	7	6
3 (equal)	10	11	10	8
4 (mostly satisfied)	19	19	21	15
5 (entirely satisfied)	62	56	61	71
Median score	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.9

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P > 0.30$.

An attempt was made to determine whether the persons who took most active part in social groups were most satisfied with their formal participation, and it was found that this was the case when affiliation, attendance, and contributions were considered. For officerships and committee memberships, however, the converse was true. Those who served as leaders were slightly more

²⁴When people expressed the degree of satisfaction with their social-recreational lives, they had more in mind than merely participation in formally organized groups. Movie attendance, going for automobile rides, and many other activities were taken into account.

dissatisfied with the amount of participation of this type than were those who did not serve. In other words, people who belonged to many organizations thought that they belonged to enough; those who attended frequently were satisfied with the extent of their attendance; those who contributed the most money were most likely to think that they gave enough; those who served as officers most frequently thought that they were giving too much service; and those who acted on committees felt that they were devoting too much time to committee work.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO NEIGHBORHOOD

More than 9 out of 10 of the families that took a very active part in community organizations were satisfied with their neighborhoods and with the neighbors. Furthermore, three-fourths of the active participants were entirely satisfied, making no complaints whatsoever to the interviewer. Fewer than half the nonparticipants, on the other hand, were entirely satisfied with their neighborhoods. Another 29 per cent of them were mildly satisfied, making a total of 76 per cent who can be considered to be satisfied (either partially or completely) with their neighbors and neighborhoods (table 33). Church attendance appeared to be especially important in neighborhood adjustment, for among the families satisfied with their neighborhoods were 74 per cent of those who attended church less than once a year as compared with about 90 per cent of those who attended more often.

TABLE 33.—Neighborhood adjustment and formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non-participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	293	85	136	72
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	1	1	2	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	4	5	4	1
3 (equal)	11	18	8	7
4 (mostly satisfied)	21	29	19	17
5 (entirely satisfied)	63	47	67	75
Median score	4.7	4.4	4.8	4.8

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT TO COMMUNITY SERVICES

The most frequent complaints about community services were made by persons who took little part in community groups (table 34). More of the complaints were with selling facilities, local government, or churches than with any other services, and it was generally the nonparticipants who raised the loudest objections. In the case of educational, medical, and buying facilities, nonparticipants were also more frequent complainers than active participants. With recreational services, however, nonparticipants were most frequently dissatisfied.

TABLE 34.—Adjustment to community services by formal social participation

Adjustment score	Total	Non-participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families.....	293	85	136	72
Per cent of families—	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	1	2	0	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	1	1	1	0
3 (equal)	11	24	7	4
4 (mostly satisfied)	29	35	25	31
5 (entirely satisfied)	58	38	67	65
Median score.....	4.6	4.1	4.8	4.7

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND ADJUSTMENT

Of the many kinds of informal social activities engaged in by farm people, only visiting and movie attendance were investigated with sufficient accuracy to warrant analysis.

It was found that about one-half the families, as represented by family heads and their wives, visited with friends or relatives at least once a week. The other half visited less often; some were only occasional visitors. No close relationship between visiting and social adjustment was found, however, for the infrequent visitors were almost as well satisfied with their total situations as were the more frequent visitors. For example, 67 per cent of those who visited only once a week or less were satisfied as compared with 75 per cent of those who were more frequent visitors. Whether families visited frequently or seldom, likewise made little difference in the proportions satisfied with the several aspects of living, such as health, home and family, and neighborhood.

Only about one-half the farm families as represented by family heads and their wives attended movies. Within the sample, those who did attend were better adjusted to their total situations and to most aspects of their living than were the nonattendants. Whether attendance at movies was seldom or frequent made little difference in total adjustment, however, for the infrequent attendants, who went to shows less than once a month, were about as well satisfied as the frequent attendants, who went at least once a month (table 35). Of these frequent attendants, a large proportion went to free street movies sponsored by village business firms to attract farm people to town. This class of attendants was, therefore, made up largely of persons who would be attracted by such a form of advertising.

Since persons who attended movies most frequently represent those who rank high on the scale of living, it was expected that they would be better satisfied on that account. Nevertheless, those who went most often to movies were satisfied with living conditions (their conveniences, etc.) in even smaller proportions than were those who did not go to movies at all. Likewise, the proportion satisfied with their home and family lives was only a little higher among frequent attendants than among nonattendants. With both these aspects of living, the occasional attendants at movies were better satisfied than either the nonattendants or frequent attendants, and the same is true with respect to satisfaction with the neighborhoods and with community services. Satisfaction with social-recreational life was found to be improved by frequent attendance

at movies; adjustment to farm and farming was unaffected. Those who attended shows were significantly better satisfied with their health than those who did not attend, and those who attended frequently were better satisfied with this aspect of living than the more occasional attendants.

TABLE 35.—Per cent of families satisfied and dissatisfied with aspects of living by attendance at movies

Aspect of living	Per cent satisfied*				Per cent dissatisfied†			
	Total	Nonat- tendants	Infre- quent at- tendants	Fre- quent at- tendants	Total	Nonat- tendants	Infre- quent at- tendants	Fre- quent at- tendants
All aspects	72	66	76	79	11	16	7	4
Health	74	65	80	87	7	11	4	2
Living conditions	63	63	72	60	13	15	6	13
Home and family	73	66	86	73	7	10	8	6
Farm and farming	80	80	80	83	6	6	2	8
Social-recreational	81	79	78	88	9	10	13	3
Neighborhood	85	83	89	85	4	5	0	5
Community services ..	88	81	96	92	2	2	0	1

By chi-square test (2×3 table) $P < 0.01$ for health; $P < 0.02$ for home and family; $P > 0.10$ for all other aspects of living.

*Adjustment scores of 4 and 5.

†Adjustment scores of 1 and 2.

LEVEL OF LIVING AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Contrary to the belief of many farm people, it is not the farmers who stay at home and work all the time who have the highest level of living. The present study indicates that comparatively few of those who ranked low on the scale of living took any active part in community organizations as members, attendants, contributors, or leaders. On the other hand, those families that ranked high on the scale of living comprised the vast majority of the highly active participants in formal group activities.

On the scale designed to measure the extent of participation in organizations, it was found that about three-tenths of all heads of farm families and their wives included in the study were nonparticipants. At the opposite extreme, about one-fourth ranked at or near the top of the participation scale. The active participants expended much time, energy, and money in group activities. Between these extremes were the occasional participants, comprising nearly one-half of all families as represented by family heads and their wives.

When these farm families were classified into highest, lowest, and middle level-of-living classes, wide differences in social participation were found. Fully two-thirds of those in the lower class as defined by this study were nonparticipants as compared with only one-tenth of those in the upper class and only one-fourth of those in the middle class. Although one-fourth of all families were highly active participants, only 3 per cent of those in the lower class were equally active as compared with 49 per cent of the upper, and 21 per cent of the middle class (table 36).

It was observed that although in general, people participated in formal group activities in proportion to their status on the scale of living, a few poor families participated frequently and a considerable number of well-to-do families were nonparticipants.

TABLE 36.—Formal social participation and level of living

Participation score	Level-of-living class			
	Total	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Number of families.....	293	60	162	71
Per cent of families—.....	100	100	100	100
2-3 (nonparticipants).....	29	66	24	10
4-5 (occasional).....	27	28	30	20
6-7 (occasional).....	20	3	25	21
8-9 (active).....	10	0	12	15
10-13 (active).....	10	3	7	21
14 and over (active).....	4	0	2	13
Median score.....	5.6	3.4	5.8	7.9

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$.

It is possible that many families having poor living conditions would have taken a more active part had they had respectable clothing. It was not uncommon during the interviews with these families to get the apology that they would have gone to church, to parent-teacher meetings, or some other function, had they had decent clothes to wear. Furthermore, the matter of expense involved in transportation to organizational functions was a factor which discouraged participation of low-income groups. Dues and contributions, which are necessary for the perpetuation of any organization, undoubtedly have an important effect upon keeping some people at home. In interpreting these results, it must be recognized that the amount of contributions to organizations was included in the index of social participation and that families of low income could not possibly contribute heavily. It would be expected, therefore, that on this item, families of lowest level-of-living classes would have lowest participation scores. Even when this item was excluded, however, families of the lower class still participated less than did those in the middle and upper classes.

FORMS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION BY LEVEL OF LIVING

Following the indication that contributions might have undue effect on social participation, it might reasonably be asked whether the relationship between level of living and social participation might be due largely to other particular types of participation in organized groups, such as affiliation. These possibilities were tested. In each of the five categories of formal social participation—affiliation, attendance, contributions, committee work, and officerships—there was an increase as the level-of-living scores became larger. In no case was the relationship reversed from that found between level of living and the total index of formal social participation.

Among two-fifths of the families having highest level of living were—

- 16 per cent of those affiliated with no groups
- 37 per cent of those affiliated with one group
- 51 per cent of those affiliated with two groups
- 62 per cent of those affiliated with three or more groups
- Median level-of-living scores: 18.7, 19.9, 20.5, 21.0

21 per cent of those attending organizations less than once a year
 39 per cent of those attending once a year to once a month*
 41 per cent of those attending once a month to once a week†
 64 per cent of those attending more often than once a week
 Median level-of-living scores: 18.9, 19.8, 20.1, 21.0

*1-12 times a year.

†13-52 times a year.

21 per cent of those contributing less than \$1.00
 35 per cent of those contributing \$1.00 to \$10.99
 70 per cent of those contributing \$11 and over
 Median level-of-living scores: 18.9, 19.9, 21.2

34 per cent of those in which no officerships or committee
 memberships were held by the head of the family or the wife
 54 per cent of those in which at least one officership or committee
 membership was held by the head of the family or the wife
 Median level-of-living scores: 19.6, 20.7

Some types of informal social participation are evidently related to level of living, whereas others are not. Only visiting and movie attendance were analyzed in sufficient detail to justify consideration here. Families whose head or wife visited more often than once a week were not of higher level-of-living classes than those visiting less frequently. Average (median) level-of-living scores were identical for the frequent and the infrequent visitors. The persons who attended movies were from higher level-of-living classes than the nonattendants. Of those who went to picture shows, the infrequent attendants were from higher classes than the frequent movie-goers. A large proportion of the frequent attendants went to free picture shows sponsored by village business firms as a means of attracting customers to town. This class was, therefore, expected to be of lower economic status.

Among the upper two-fifths of the families were—

32 per cent of the movie nonattendants
 51 per cent of the infrequent movie attendants
 44 per cent of the frequent attendants
 Median level-of-living scores: 19.6, 20.4, 20.2

SPECIFIC INDICES OF LEVEL OF LIVING BY SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

A similar question might be asked concerning the effect of various aspects of level of living upon social participation. For example, do families that participate most in social organizations have better housing conditions, more electrical conveniences, better sanitation, better education, more adequate communication facilities, or greater economic security than families that seldom take part in community organizations? The specific indices of these six types of level-of-living items in relation to social participation were found to be about the same as the general index of level of living (table 37).

When families were classified by the general level-of-living index, 16 times as large a proportion of those in the upper class as of those in the lower class were active participants; also, 7 times as large a proportion of nonparticipants were in the lower class as in the upper class. When families were classified by each of the specific indices of level of living, similar class differences in participation were found (table 37).

TABLE 37.—Per cent of families active participants and nonparticipants in organized groups by level of living class

Specific level-of-living factor	Active participants*			Nonparticipants†		
	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class	Lowest class	Middle class	Highest class
Total level of living	3	21	49	66	24	10
Education	5	22	46	62	26	9
Communication	5	26	37	58	27	10
Economic security	5	24	41	64	25	9
Housing	3	24	44	66	23	11
Sanitation and safety	7	22	46	65	22	14
Electrical conveniences	6	26	37	58	23	19

*Formal social participation scores of 8 or more.

†Formal social participation scores lower than 4.

Further indications of the relationship of level of living and the extent of social participation were found in the responses of the persons interviewed to the question: "What things would you buy if you had an additional \$100?" Those families who admitted that they would spend the money for basic needs, such as food, clothing, or medical attention, played less active parts in community organizations than did those who claimed that the money would be used for other than subsistence needs, such as for investments or savings.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has been concerned with some fundamental aspects of the mode of living of Ohio farm people in different sections of the State. Through interviews with the adult representatives of 299 farm families, information about their levels of living, their participation in group activities, their social adjustment, and other related factors was collected. Level of living was measured in terms of the possession or nonpossession of various material and nonmaterial items which served to distinguish between the most and the least well-to-do families. Social participation was measured largely in terms of the amount and kind of organized group activities engaged in by farmers and their wives. Social adjustment was measured in terms of the attitudes expressed by farm people toward their social environment. On a five-point satisfaction-dissatisfaction scale, attitudes expressed toward his living conditions as a whole and toward various aspects of his way of life were recorded for each person interviewed.

The general objective of the study was to determine the interrelationships between the basic phases of farm life—level of living, social participation, and social adjustment. Subsidiary to this general purpose were numerous other aims, including the construction of valid measuring devices and the estimation of the effect of such factors as age, place of residence, size of family, religion, education, and occupational status, upon each of the main factors and upon the relationships between them.

The results of the study show that Ohio farm people are generally well satisfied, but that the degree of their satisfaction depends to a considerable extent upon the circumstances under which they live. Whether some are inherently happy, contented, and quick to make adjustments to any ordinary circumstance, the present study does not attempt to show. That social adjustment, level of living, and social participation are closely associated is clearly

shown. It is further demonstrated that all these factors are dependent to some extent upon other environmental factors, such as age, place of residence, size of family, religion, education, and occupational status. Examination of the major findings of the study as they have been presented leads to the following conclusions concerning Ohio farm people:

Regardless of their social and economic circumstances, Ohio farm people are generally well satisfied with their ways of living.

Of every 100 persons, about 70 were satisfied with their ways of life, 12 were dissatisfied, and 18 were balanced between satisfactions and dissatisfactions. Of those who expressed favorable attitudes toward their ways of life, about one-third were completely satisfied and two-thirds were mostly or largely satisfied.

Not only did the majority of farm people express favorable attitudes toward their total situations, but they also expressed attitudes of satisfaction toward several aspects of their living. They were entirely satisfied in the largest proportions with their community services and institutions, their neighborhoods, and their social-recreational lives. They complained most frequently about their home conveniences, their home and family lives, their health, and their farms (but not with farming as an occupation).

Ohio farm families differ widely with respect to their levels of living, and those ranking high on the scale of living are much better adjusted than are those ranking low.

When the families were ranked in order from highest to lowest level of living, those families comprising the highest one-fourth with regard to possessions were in striking contrast to those comprising the lowest fourth. For example, the proportion possessing telephones was 8.5 times greater among those families comprising the highest class than among those comprising the lowest class; the percentages were 93 and 11, respectively. The highest one-fourth possessed gas or electric lights in proportions 3.1 times greater than the lowest one-fourth. The average percentage of possession of 59 level-of-living items was 2.5 times greater for the highest than for the lowest one-fourth, being 87 and 35, respectively.

The proportion of persons who expressed favorable attitudes toward their modes of life, "everything considered," was more than twice as great among the one-fourth having the highest level of living as among the lowest one-fifth. The proportions of persons who were well adjusted to the several aspects of their ways of life, including the health of their family members, their living conditions and conveniences, their homes and families, their farms and farming, their neighborhoods and neighbors, and their community services and institutions, ranged from 1.1 to 2.4 times greater for the upper than for the lower level-of-living class.

Persons representing middle-class farm families were much better adjusted to their total situations and to their several aspects than those representing the lower class, but the difference in adjustment between

those representing the upper and middle classes was comparatively small. The percentages satisfied in the lowest, middle, and highest classes were 41, 76, and 84, respectively.

The majority of farm people participate very little in organized groups, but those who do participate are better adjusted than those who do not.

About 29 per cent were classified as nonparticipants in organized groups, 47 per cent as occasional participants, and 24 per cent as active participants.

Participation in church groups was more common than participation in any other groups or institutions apart from the family itself; yet 31 per cent belonged to no church, 34 per cent attended no church, 38 per cent contributed financially to no church, and nearly 9 out of 10 assumed no leadership activities in church groups.

Those persons who were affiliated with the most groups, attended the largest number of group meetings, made the largest financial contributions, and served as group leaders, were most frequently satisfied with their way of life, "everything considered," and all its aspects. The one-fourth of the farm families that took the most active part in community organizations were satisfied with their total situations in proportions 1.7 times greater than the one-fourth that took the least active part in such organizations. The proportions of persons who were well adjusted to the several aspects of their situations ranged from 1.1 to 1.5 times greater for the upper than for the lower one-fourth.

Persons in families that rank high on the scale of living participate much more actively in organized groups than those in low-ranking families.

The proportion of nonparticipants in community organizations was nearly seven times greater among those on the lower one-fifth of the scale of living than among those on the highest one-fourth.

Farm people participated actively in organized social groups in constantly increasing proportions from lowest to highest level-of-living classes. The proportion of nonparticipants was 2.7 times greater among lowest- than among middle-class families and was 2.4 times greater among middle- than among highest-class families.

The degree of social adjustment is approximately the same in the major geographical areas of the State although both level of living and social participation differ widely among the areas.

The average level of living was found to be markedly highest in the urban-industrial area, lowest in the southeastern-hill region, and about midway between in the western-agricultural section.

Participation in social organizations was greatest in the western-agricultural section and lowest in the southeastern-hill region, but the urban-industrial region did not differ greatly from the western-agricultural area in this respect.

No significant differences in adjustment to the way of life (considered in its entirety) existed between the major geographical areas of the State. All regions were found to be about the same with respect to adjustment to living conditions. Persons in the urban-industrial area were slightly better adjusted to health than were those in the other regions. Persons in the western-agricultural region were better satisfied with their farms and with farming as an occupation; also with their homes and families, their social-recreational situations, and their neighborhoods. Of the people in the three regions, those in the south-eastern-hill area were least contented with their community services and facilities; those in the urban-industrial area were least satisfied with their home and family situations.

Although the chances of a satisfying life on the farm are greatly increased for those who have a high level of living and who are active participants in organized groups, these factors alone do not assure satisfactory adjustment to farm life. Likewise, although the extent of social participation is influenced by the levels of living of the participants, it is also affected by other factors.

Some persons who ranked among the highest on the scale of living and who took active parts in group activities were, nevertheless, dissatisfied with their ways of life. On the other hand, some individuals who ranked low on the scale of living and who participated little in group life were entirely satisfied with their ways of life.

Some people living at comparatively low levels participated considerably in community groups, whereas some with very high levels of living participated little or not at all.

Although level of living, social adjustment, and social participation were found to be highly intercorrelated, each of these factors was influenced by various other factors.

Farm owners were better adjusted, had a higher level of living, and participated more in social organizations than did tenants. People living on farms but deriving most of their incomes from employment at white-collar jobs had higher levels of living, participated more fully, but were no better adjusted than those whose main incomes were derived from the sale of farm products. Skilled and semiskilled workers who lived on farms had about the same levels of living as did farm owners, but they did not participate quite as actively and were less well adjusted than were those who earned most of their livings as farm owner-operators. Laborers and persons dependent upon public support were most frequently maladjusted, had the lowest levels of living, and participated least extensively in organized groups.

Large families of seven or more persons were less well adjusted, had lower levels of living, and participated less than smaller families. Families comprised of five or six persons attained the maximum degrees of adequacy in all these respects.

Those families having children living at home were better adjusted and participated more than did others, but the presence or absence of children had little relation to levels of family living.

Up to about age 50 or 60, people participated increasingly in community organizations as they became older. Old age apparently brought about a sharp curtailment of social activity. Persons of age 55 and over were more often entirely satisfied than were younger persons. Age had little effect upon level of living.

Persons with the least educational attainment had the lowest levels of living, and those with most education had the highest levels of living. Those who had never reached the eighth grade in school were less satisfied and participated in organized groups less than those in any other educational class, but the persons who had finished high school were less satisfied and took less active parts in social groups than those with eighth grade or only some high school training.

Persons who had always lived in the country were more often contented with their ways of life than were those who had lived in a city at some time.

It was generally the persons who were affiliated with church groups who were best adjusted, took most active parts in community organizations, and had the highest levels of living. Wide differences in adjustment, participation, and level of living were, however, observed among those belonging to different religious denominations.

Those persons who were rated highest in intelligence also received the highest scores for level of living, social participation, and social adjustment. Families that were striving to farm as scientifically as possible, to educate the family members, and to provide economic security for later life were better adjusted to their situations, had higher levels of living, and participated more fully than those who were seeking other ends.